

JUNE, 1916

The

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INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

THE :: FIGHTING :: MAGAZINE
OF :: THE :: WORKING :: CLASS



BLAST FURNACE WORKERS

THE PITTSBURGH STRIKES
STORIES OF THE CAVE PEOPLE
THE SOURCES OF RELIGION
STRAIGHT TALKS TO RAILROAD MEN



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By PROF. J. HOWARD MOORE

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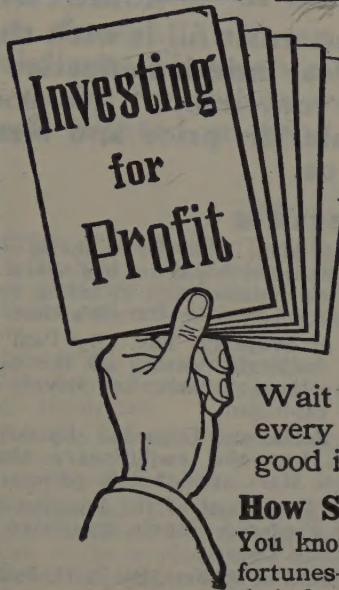
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on Socialism

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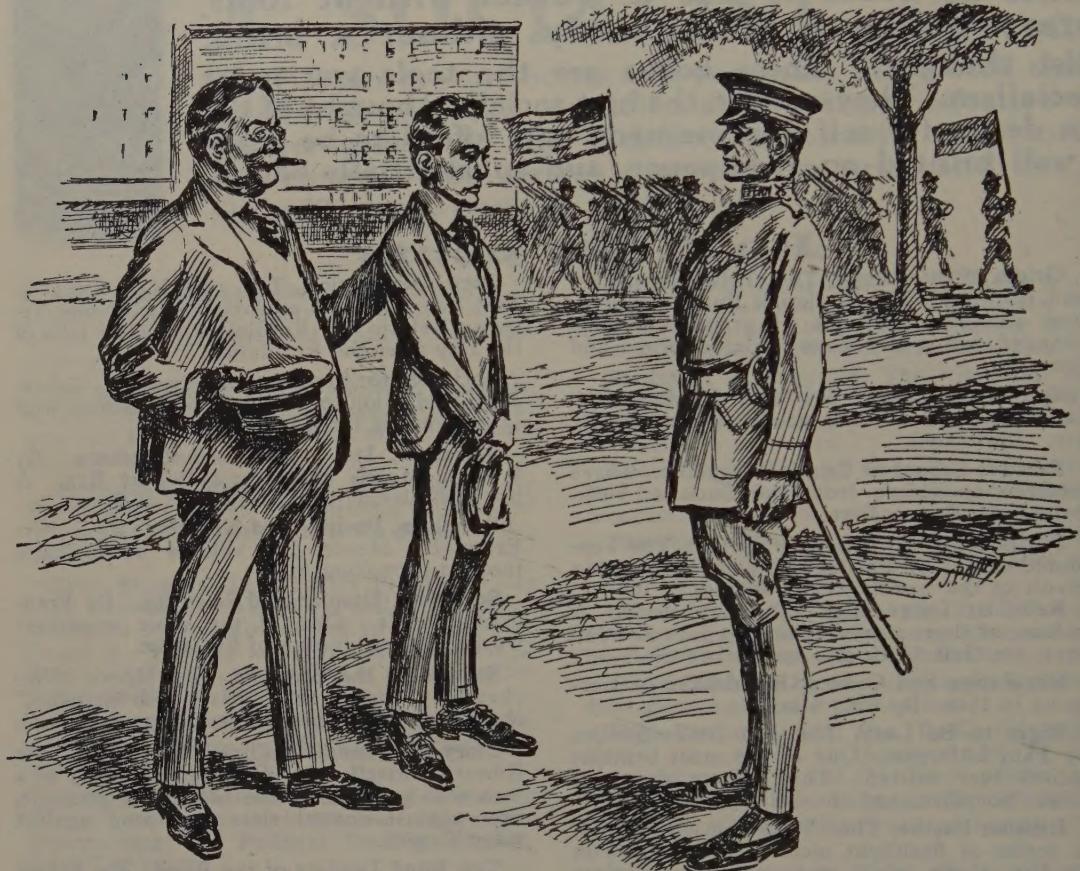
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The True Spirit of Preparadness!



From Memphis Commercial Appeal.

Employer (to militia officer)—“Here, take him and make a soldier out of him. Let's get ready around here.”

Secretary Glenn of the Illinois Manufacturers' Association announced he had made plans to arrange for a large number of employes of every manufacturer in the association to be in line in the great Defense Parade.—From Chicago Herald.

June

1916

The
**INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

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No. 12

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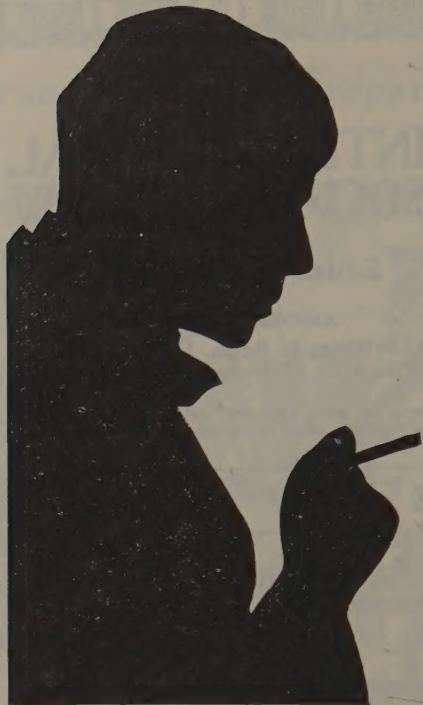
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CARL SANDBURG

READY TO KILL

By Carl Sandburg

Ten minutes now I have been looking at this.
I have gone by here before and wondered about it.
This is a bronze memorial of a famous general
Riding horseback with a flag and a sword and a revolver
on him.

I want to smash the whole thing into a pile of junk to be
hauled away to the scrap yard.

I put it straight to you,
After the farmer, the miner, the shop man, the factory
hand, the fireman and the teamster,
Have all been remembered with bronze memorials,
Shaping them on the job of getting all of us
Something to eat and something to wear,
When they stack a few silhouettes

Against the sky
Here in the park,

And show the real huskies that are doing the work of the
world, and feeding people instead of butchering them,
Then, maybe, I will stand here
And look easy at this general of the army holding a flag
in the air,

And riding like hell on horseback
Ready to kill anybody that gets in his way,
Ready to run the red blood and slush the bowels of men
all over the sweet new grass of the prairie.

—From Chicago Poems.



WAR IN MEXICO.

The
**INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST REVIEW**

VOL. XVI

JUNE, 1916

No. 12

THE PITTSBURGH STRIKES

By DANTE BARTON

THE United States Steel Corporation went to the front for the Employers' Association of Pittsburgh on May 2. Repeating the Homestead tactics of 1892, its armed guards, thugs, special policemen and detectives fired volley after volley from riot guns and repeating rifles into the crowds of strikers and sympathizers—men, women and children—killed three, fatally wounded three others and seriously wounded from forty to sixty more.

Following that open violence, the Steel Corporation and Employers' Association invoked the legal process of Pittsburgh to put the wrong persons in jail. Drag-net warrants brought in the leaders of the unorganized numbers of the workers. They were thrown into jail and kept there without bond and without trial by the most arbitrary seizure of power.

There had been no violence in the Pittsburgh industrial district until the strike, which originated in the Westinghouse Electric Company's plant in East Pittsburgh, had spread to the Edgar Thompson Works of the Steel Trust—a Carnegie branch in Braddock. Realizing that their men were going out, the steel corporation officials began importing the coal and iron guards from Gary, Ind. These men arrived on Saturday, April 29. Several of them boasted that they had been in the employ of the Rockefellers in the Ludlow massacre in Colorado. For ten days before the fight at the Thompson Works, about 60,000 workmen and working women, from skilled mechanics to unskilled laborers, had been out on strike. Beginning on April 21 in the Westing-

house Electric Company in East Pittsburgh, the strike had spread rapidly until it included all of the 40,000 employees of the various Westinghouse plants. Within five or six days partial or complete strikes had seriously crippled or tied up 23 other industries scattered throughout the entire Pittsburgh district. The Pressed Steel Car Works and the National Tube Company of the United States Steel Corporation became involved in big strikes later in the week.

This great strike in the Pittsburgh district centers in the demand for an eight-hour work day. It is part of the great industrial movement of the workers throughout the nation for the eight-hour day. The demand among practically all the workers of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County has not been lessened or affected by the shooting of the workers in Braddock. The consent of the Westinghouse strikers to accept the mediation offered by Patrick Gilday, chief of the mediation and conciliation board of the state department of labor and industry of Pennsylvania, was in no sense an offer of arbitration. The workers declared that the eight-hour day was not a subject of arbitration. They demanded it as of right.

But back of the eight-hour day demand is the realization by the workers that the opportunity of labor to assert itself to control its own pay and its conditions of work and of life is here now in the United States. Practically without organization—there were fewer than 1,000 members of the American Federation of Labor among the 40,000 employees of all the



Courtesy of the Survey.

JERUSALEM COURT OR BOWERY, McKEESPORT.

Russians, Austrians, Poles, and Bohemians, Russian, Polis, and Galacian Jews, German, Hungarians, and Negroes, were residents of Jerusalem. One Irish family for full measure.

Westinghouse plants—the workers of all grades and of both sexes threw themselves into the strike movement. Workers of all nationalities acted with solidarity. The great mass of them were still getting low wages; but they and the skilled mechanics, and some favored few workers receiving as high as from ten to even eighteen or twenty dollars a day for long hours of overtime in the manufacture of war munitions, joined simultaneously in the strike for the eight-hour day.

Gains of big and increasing importance have already been made by the workers. Starting with practically no organization, great numbers of the strikers have joined the International Association of Machinists and other unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Andrew T. McNamara, an organizer for the Machinists, and Patrick J. Kelly, of the Machinists Local No. 6 of Pittsburgh, estimated that in the first week of the struggle 4,000 machinists, skilled workers, had left the several plants involved in the strike. Requests for many hundreds of these machinists to go to work in other cities had been received. For a year the Westinghouse employers had advertised

for skilled workers, and in a day they lost more men from their labor market than they had added in the year.

Until the new demand for labor, and especially skilled labor, in the Pittsburgh district had arisen along with the mad scramble of the mill owners for war profits, the condition of the great army of the workers in the district had been frightful. A survey of a typical residence section of the unskilled mill workers was taken very recently under the direction of the Rev. C. R. Zahnizer, Secretary of the Christian Social Service Union of the 500 Protestant churches of the Pittsburgh district. This section is known as "the Strip." It is in the heart of Pittsburgh. It extends from 11th street to 34th street and lies between the Allegheny River and the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks. In the whole of it there is only .57 of a square mile, and a little more than half of it is occupied by great industrial plants, a big Carnegie plant being one of them. In the less than $\frac{1}{4}$ square mile left for the dwelling of the poor, more than 15,000 persons live. An intensive study of the half block between Smallman street and Mulberry alley and between 31st street and 32nd street showed 43 industrial homes, of



Courtesy of the Survey

FOUR BEDS IN A ROOM; TWO IN A BED.

The young fellow at the table was writing home. Before him were pictures of his mother and sisters in immaculate costumes.

which 32 kept boarders. In 32 houses, containing 177 rooms, there were 110 members of the several families, and 174 men boarders—a total of 284 persons living in 177 rooms. Eight families, each family living in three rooms and keeping boarders, averaged six persons to a three-room apartment.

From January 1, 1915, to September 15, 1915, the average rate of wages paid to the 155 men living in that half block was \$10.40 a week. But the average pay received by each of the 155 men was only \$4.66 a week, as the men were given employment for only four-ninths of the time.

Such terrible facts of brutalizing poverty and oppression are entirely ignored by the Westinghouse and Steel Trust and other Pittsburgh industries who have been advertising in the Pittsburgh newspapers that now there are hundreds of thousands of dollars, and millions of dollars in wages being lost to the workers of Pittsburgh because of the strikes. The wage earners remember the many millions of wages they did not get when the masters of the plants and the tools kept them from work and forced them to the most miserable wages and to the terror of unemployment. You hear on all sides

from among the workers of Pittsburgh the expressed determination no longer to permit their lives and their earning power to be at the mercy of those whose caprice or selfishness or incapacity had subjected them to such degradation and misery.

But the industries of Pittsburgh are under the shadow of the Steel Corporation with its long workday and its ferocious prohibition of organization among its workers. About 70 per cent of the workers for the Steel Corporation still have the straight 12-hour day. The banks, the politics and the general industrial life of Pittsburgh look to the United States Steel Corporation for their orders. An Employers' Association, succeeding an earlier Manufacturers' Association, was formed within two days of the strike and walkout in the Westinghouse plants. A few of the smaller employing concerns told representatives of the International Association of Machinists that they would gladly grant the eight-hour day, and some few already had it, but they were afraid of the power of the steel trust and the allied big interests. The Employers' Association adopted resolutions to fight the demands of the workers. It did not publish the names of its officers, but it delegated Isaac W.

Frank, President of the United States Engineering and Foundry Company, and president of the Frank-Kneeland Company, to be its spokesman. The Steel Corporation kept out of this Association, but gave the direction to its activities.

Mr. Frank talked to the writer of this report with the same ferocity and violence with which the Steel Corporation acted at its Edgar Thompson Works in Braddock. In the presence of his partner, Mr. Edward Kneeland, Mr. Frank told the writer that the man whom he held chiefly responsible for the eight-hour day movement and other demands of the workers "should be assassinated." Becoming frightened then at his own indiscretion, he said that his statement had been very "un rational" and that he did not mean it. The Steel Corporation has also expressed regret at the death of the men its guards killed, though it still has the guards at its plant, and a compliant district attorney, R. H. Jackson, has issued wholesale warrants for inciting to riot and for being accessory to murder against the workers whom the guards wounded. The coroner, a person named Jamison, has committed these men and one woman to jail without bail until he may be pleased to summon a coroner's jury to hear their side of the case.

There was no violence attending the strike until the Steel Corporation acted. The only semblance of violence occurred on the first day of the shutting down of the Westinghouse plant when a crowd of from 500 to 700 of the striking men marched from East Pittsburgh to the Westinghouse Air Brake plant in Wilmerding, about a mile away. They went to encourage the workers there to join them in striking for the eight-hour day. They marched through the company's plant—whether being first taunted by the guards, accounts differ. At any rate, no serious injury was done to property or to persons. But the men and women in the Wilmerding plant all walked out. Until the fatal day of May 2 at the Edgar Thompson Workers, the strikers and men who had been locked out by the panic or the cunning of the various industries were remarkably quiet and good natured. They met peacefully in mass assemblages and listened to addresses of leaders or stood in the streets and most of them evidently

stayed in their homes. There had been parades with and without bands. On Monday, May 1, crowds totaling from 3,000 to 4,000 marched from Wilmerding, Swissvale and East Pittsburgh to the Edgar Thompson Works in Braddock. The greater number stayed on the hill-side overlooking the works and about a half a mile from it. Toward the late afternoon several hundred persons of the crowd went into Thirteenth street along the high board fence built there, and into the tunnel leading into the plant. They met no resistance and going through the works succeeded in causing probably one-half of the 10,000 or so employes of all grades to quit work. The company then banked all the furnaces and declared the plant shut down.

It was the next day, along about one o'clock in the afternoon, that the first shooting by the guards occurred. There was another fight between two and three o'clock in the same afternoon.

As usual in cases of such confusion, stories vary as to how the fighting started. The testimony of many of the men in the street is that the crowds were walking along in the street hurrahing and urging the men in the works to come out and join the strike. Many of the workers from the inside were trying to get over the fence to unite with the crowds and company guards were pulling or driving them back. The firing of guns and the throwing of stones by the men, who later tried to storm the fence and were shot down or driven back by the guards, came in a pell mell of action.

The crowd of strikers and bystanders was entirely undisciplined and unled. It included very few organized labor workers. That it was not a "mob" intent on murder or other violence was shown by its general character, as it included many hundreds of women and children. Several of the women were wounded. The firing was done through the high board fence along Thirteenth street. A concrete wall surrounds all other sides of the works. While from fifty to sixty strikers and lookers-on were shot down, not a guard or company official or other person was injured. But immediately state troops were sent for by the sheriff and were sent by the Governor.

It is notable that the ten policemen of

North Braddock, comprising the entire police force of that borough of Allegheny County, had refused to take any part in guarding the Edgar Thompson Works and in being in readiness to shoot down their fellow citizens. "For the honor of the Borough," as the Borough Commissioners said, those ten policemen were afterward discharged.

Following the shooting by the guards and special police, many of the leaders of the strikers, most of whom had not been near the scene of the trouble, were arrested and put in jail on charges of being accessories to murder. John H. Hall, Anna Bell, Henry H. Detweiler, R. W. Hall, George Zeiber, Frank Imhoff, Geo. Cregmont, Joseph Cronin and Fred H. Merrick were the victims of this perversion of the due process of justice, whatever may have been its standing in the due process of Pennsylvania's trust-made criminal law. John H. Hall had been one of the organizers of and leaders in the "American Industrial Union," a federation of some hundreds of the otherwise unorganized workers within the Westinghouse plants. His discharge for that activity had been one of the immediate causes of the strike. Anna Bell, a young

woman who had worked nine and one-quarter hours a day at the standard wage of \$1.10 a day, had led most of the 2,000 to 3,000 women and girl workers out of the plant on the first day of the strike. Fred Merrick had been active for years in Pittsburgh as a Socialist speaker and writer and newspaper man. At a mass meeting of the workers, the first day of the strike, Merrick had shown a shot gun and had spoken of the constitutional right to bear arms. There was no advice to use arms and no other reference to their possible use, even in defense, at any of the public meetings. On the contrary, it was pointed out at all the meetings that now, with an absence of strike breakers and with a greater labor demand than there was a labor supply among the skilled workers, the workers had only to stand together until the desire of the mill owners for their abnormal quick profits had forced them to grant the eight-hour day.

The growing solidarity of the labor movement was shown in the concerted action of skilled and unskilled, including the women workers who, wholly unorganized, are especially exploited in the Pittsburgh plants.

LOOK at what money and newspapers can accomplish. The cry for Mex intervention never came from the American working class to start with. Nor from the Mex working class. It's money and newspapers spreading the scare.

Workingmen get on street cars after breakfast and look over the morning papers. The first thing nearly every day is a new Mex outrage on the front page. Indifference grows to a resentment.

"I don't care about Mexico" changes to "If somebody wants to lick Mexico, let 'em." With younger men gone dingbat over military uniforms and glory, it gets to be, "I'm ready to go down there and make the greasers respect the American flag."

Money and newspapers—handle these two forces properly and you make crowds of people think what you want thought.

Hearst has 1,016,000 acres of Mex land. Otis of Los Angeles has Mex land. And the Rockefellers.

Yet on most any streetcar you can run across mutts in overalls who don't own

a foot of American or Mex land and they're all ready to go down and fight Mexicans and raise the values of Hearst-Otis-Rockefeller land in Mexico.

Notice how slow the working class has been to get mad at Mexico. Day after day dirty lies packed on the front pages of newspapers. Day after day, "More Americans Killed." A great cause with great fundamental principles behind it would, under such an agitation, raise armies of millions. Mexican intervention being a little cause with only a Rockefeller itch, an Otis thirst and a Hearst hunger behind it, money and newspapers have to blow hard to raise what sentiment they do.

To conquer Mexico and lay it subject for proper Hearst-Otis-Rockefeller exploitation would take an army of 500,000 men. This is the Hearst estimate and agreed with by the Chicago Tribune and Los Angeles Times.

That's all they want—500,000 working class men and boys—to die for grabbers and speculators.

Written in English
Prisoners of War.

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THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM A GERMAN COMRADE, NOW A PRISONER OF WAR, CAME TO US IN AN ENVELOPE AS REPRODUCED ABOVE.

F. Zach, P. Of. W. 22246 Camp VI.,
Compound 1, Hut 49 Peel,

Isle of Mann.

March 29, 1916.

Dear Comrades:

I am writing to you as requested by my other P. of W. comrades and fellow workers, who have to suffer for not our own faults. We have started to re-read the cheering-up REVIEW and we want you to know how it does cheer us up, especially, as there are so many books on patri-ido-tism, on which line we are not so very fond and when we read the old REVIEW we cannot get away from it; it kills this monotonous time. I have been a regular subscriber until September last year, but not being in a position to buy new ones, so I would kindly ask you herewith if you will do me and other comrades the favor of sending some back numbers. I have to close my letter, as my space is limited.

With international greetings.

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) FRANK ZACH.



Straight Talk to the Rails

By CLARENCE S. DARROW

Extracts From Address Delivered at an Open Meeting of Railroad Men in Chicago,
April 30th.

YOUR organizations have generally been considered the aristocracy of labor. This is one reason why you have so much trouble in fixing your hours and pay. If you are weak when it comes to fight, you have to first ask yourself the question whether you are in any way responsible for this weakness.

As a matter of fact, the *real working* people are those who are interested in higher wages—they have not been in sympathy with the locomotive engineers and it is pretty hard for people who work to accomplish much without the aid of their fellow workers.

One of your speakers has just said that the wages of *locomotive engineers* were less than the wages of *hod carriers*. Of course it does not take much of an apprenticeship to carry mortar. One is obliged to learn how to walk on a ladder and that is about all. We cannot envy a hod carrier, and if the hod carrier's wages are high in comparison with the locomotive engineer's, there must be a reason for it.

That reason is found in the different organizations. A hod carrier is a working man and he knows it. He makes his fight as a working man. He is not proud. He knows that his job is not a good one and that the main part of it is manual labor. He understands, too, that if he cannot carry a hod, he can do something else. He is not afraid to take a chance. If he refuses to carry a hod, he does not feel that

his life employment is gone, but that he could pick up something else and do it.

The locomotive engineer spends many years as a fireman, hoping that some day he will become an engineer. He could be an engineer much quicker, but it is not always easy to get a place. All the time he is a fireman, he is looking forward to a better job and when the job comes he feels that he is settled for life and has not very much in common with the rest of the working-men.

A locomotive engineer is not a high-brow who can live without working. He is so much of a working man that he cannot get a high-brow's wages and he is so much of a high-brow that he cannot adopt a working man's methods, so he gets it going and coming. He is like a bat—neither an animal nor a bird.

The engineer comes largely from the farm and the wages he gets either as engineer or fireman are better than the wages he got as a farmer and he judges the question of wages and hours largely from the farmer's standpoint. Then, again, when he wears old clothes on the engine and he gets home at night and dresses up he may be a mayor of a country town, often an alderman or an influential citizen,—many times one of the best paid men of the town, faring better than the small merchant. In a way he is the envy of the town, for he can come to Chicago nearly every day, go down to the stock yards, and look at Marshall Field's store and the Masonic

Temple. The other citizens cannot come unless they pay their fare and they cannot afford to do that very often. The engineer feels that he is interested in prosperity in his town and its general welfare and is a respected citizen who has much to lose.

He is not a working man and cannot be classed with working men. He is not affiliated with the general organization of labor. *He operates alone* and the rest of the organizations leave him alone. His actual running hours are generally not very long and the people in the rural community consider that he is having a vacation when he lays off in town. Likewise the city people think he is having a vacation when he lays off in a country town. He has been paid better wages than the other train men and most manual laborers, so that he may be sort of a connecting link between capital and labor—interested somewhat in both and not very much in either, but when a man by profession is allied with both sides, he generally chooses to consider himself one of the aristocrats, because that is easier and so the engineers are the aristocracy of labor or the friends of capitalism, which ever way you wish to put it. In this way he gets the advantages of neither and the disadvantages of both.

If the miners, for instance, cause a strike to be called, he sees no reason why he should not want non-union men to take the places of strikers. He is not affiliated with them and has nothing in common with them. Of course, when it comes to the miner's turn, he sees no reason why he should help the engineers. The employer has learned that by giving higher wages to the engineer and separating him from the rest of his fellow men, it makes him save. He can afford to pay something for insurance and on this basis the engineer receives a certain percentage in extra salary.

Of course, the engineer cannot be expected to receive the salary of the president of the road, or their general counsel, or even their superintendent, but he can get more than the switchman, or the brakeman, or the trackman, so he stands neutral in the real controversies and conflicts of labor.

An engineer has had a long job of waiting and considerable service before his promotion. He has often bought a home on the installment plan and some times has bonds and money in the bank. His wife belongs to the whist club and his children

are well clothed and go to a good school. He cannot afford to risk this for some other person's troubles, or even for his own. He feels that at his time of life, that if he cannot be an engineer he cannot be anything and he naturally prefers to dicker and haggle for better wages rather than to set his price and refuse to work unless he gets it. The engineer's position is not an easy one. He cannot possibly place himself in a class with the laborer, so he gives up the dangers incident to strikes and does the best he can.

In the early days of the organization, the engineers were willing to take a chance; they did take a chance and what they got was due largely to the chance they took. No one gets anything of any importance without taking a chance. They have to be willing to live or die, according to the fortunes of war.

I have no special knowledge as to what course the engineers ought to pursue under their present demands. It is easier to advise a strike, but no one should take that responsibility without understanding the situation and I do not pretend to understand it. I do know, however, that the fortunes of the engineer are in the end bound up with the fortunes of other working men and they will not prosper and ought not to prosper unless they are interested in those who are less fortunate than themselves.

They cannot well expect other working people to help them unless they are willing to make sacrifices for the men who get less pay than they are getting. Of all the men who are engaged in labor, no class stands in a position where they are able to demand as much as the engineer. In a way this ought to make them conservative but they ought to understand their power. They ought not to make unjust demands, but at the same time they ought to stand for justice for all working men.

The railroads are the nerve centers of the country. If it were possible to organize all the railroad men into a thorough union, it would be difficult for the companies to resist a demand that was not outrageously unreasonable. No great city could live unless the trains ran in and out. All business is dependent upon the railroads. The railroad owners have learned this long ago and they generally fixed up their tariff rates, charging what the traffic would bear.

Of course, the farmer is helpless and the city dweller is helpless without the railroad. All modern life is built on them. The cities are absolutely dependent upon them. Country towns, and even the farms, have grown and developed with reference to their connection with railroads and as a consequence an ocean of stocks and bonds representing at least twice the value of the roads has been issued by promoters and jobbers and the people pay tribute on those stocks and bonds.

The railroad employes have the same advantage as the owners. The cities, country, villages and farmers are dependent on them. Unless they run the trains, business is paralyzed. It is an enormous power to be placed either in the hands of the owners of the roads or on the operators of the roads, but these powers should not be left entirely with the owners. With a thorough organization of railroad men interested in all the working people, almost any reform could be brought about. With a body of men operating the railroads who are interested purely in their narrow selfish end, nothing of any general importance can be done. The railroad men have a great responsibility, not only to themselves, but to their fellow workers.

If the conditions of life are ever materially changed it will probably come through the railroads, for nothing else reaches all life like the railroad—nothing else can produce such quick and far-reaching results.

I am quite sure that no one who works ever got what he earned. Neither the capitalist nor the laborer are entirely responsible for this, but working men have constantly improved their conditions through their organization and by their willingness to make a fight when fight was needed.

Whatever the engineers are fit to do at the present time, should be done, not alone

in view of their own wages and hours, but with regard to every other workman. You get better pay and shorter hours than most men who labor and therefore your responsibilities are greater than that of other men. You probably do not receive what you really ought to get and you will not receive it until you understand your relation to all the rest and are willing to take your share of the burden with the rest.

As a class you are more intelligent, better skilled and better paid than other laborers. This makes it easier for you to help in the general cause and the more the condition of labor in general is improved, the more will your condition be improved—better wages and shorter hours and better organization will increase production not only helping the working man but the employer, too.

When it comes to making a fight for better conditions, your employers naturally look over the field carefully to see what your resources are. The strength of each working man is mainly in his organization and the strength of each organization is largely in his relation to the other organizations.

I have no doubt that the engineers could get better wages and shorter hours if they were properly organized and if they really meant to make their demands so that their demands would be felt, but largely this question is up to you. It is a question for the individual engineer and for the organization of which he is a member. As far as the engineers alone are concerned, I would not be especially interested in their cause; but so far as they are a part of the general cause of labor and especially that great class who are badly underpaid, I am interested. I would like to see you improve your conditions and also work as hard for the general improvement of conditions as you do for your own.





THE EVERY WOMAN COMPANY.

ONE NIGHT STANDS

By EVELYN TOBIAS

THE dainty blonde girl from Cleveland, Ohio, who appears every night in the Everywoman Company, gazed sadly from the window of the train that was making its way slowly thru a wide expanse of rushing waters, from Vicksburg, Mississippi, toward Natchez, and sighed heavily.

"And to think that I refused to study stenography and broke into the theatrical profession because I wanted to *travel!*" She threaded her needle and viciously attacked a hole in the heel of a gauzy silk stocking.

"And I thought the stage would be more of an adventure than making hats for Bloom & Son," wailed her pretty companion.

The leading lady, the Everywoman of the cast, who has reaped a host of eulogistic press notices from Jersey City to Spokane, leaned across the aisle and grinned.

"I wanted to *earn* my living. So I guess we all got what we were looking for."

"But how could I know what I was go-

ing up against?" asked the girl from Cleveland. That all happened two long seasons —ages—ago. I was young then. For nineteen lovely years I had slept in the same clean bed, in the same comfortable home and eaten three square meals every day. I had never taken a bath in a pint of water and I did not know what it was to climb into a strange bed at one o'clock to be forced out at 4 a. m. or 5 a. m. to make the only train that would get us to the next date in time for the performance."

The slow-moving train that was laboriously threading its way thru the spring flood that covered the railroad tracks to the body of the car, came to a sudden and unexpected halt.

"We're stuck. Here's where I make my *will*. You may have my diamond ring," groaned the auburn haired girl to the Girl from Cleveland, "and I'll leave my clean combination suits to Miss Porter."

"I don't wish you any ill-luck, but I could contemplate, almost with serenity, the demise of anybody who offered to be-

queath me clean underwear this trip. I ought to have five or six bundles of clean things awaiting me at Natchez. But will they be there? Something tells me that, having collected payment in advance, certain young women at Mobile and Montgomery have developed an overwhelming desire to keep my things. I've had several bundles following me around from town to town, always a date or two behind," sighed Miss Porter.

The girl who played the part of Modesty laughed, "You will have *some* express charges. Better buy new things. It will be cheaper in the long run. That's what I'm going to do."

The girls, joined by other members of the Everywoman Company, gazed dolefully at the water rising all about the train. A lazy Mississippi youth rowed leisurely up to get acquainted with the strangers and Miss Porter produced a kodak and took one or two snap shots for the *Review*, seated in the boat, while part of the Everywoman crew rowed to the telegraph station and wired for a "feeler" engine to go ahead of the passenger to make sure that the tracks had not been washed away.



FRANCES SIMPSON AS "MODESTY."

Families along the river bank had moved upstairs, where the drab frame houses possessed two stories; others were on the roofs where the children clung together fearfully. A battered chicken coop, containing several cackling hens, floated down stream, a black cat meowing dismally from the roof.

"Nice, cheerful place to get swamped in," groaned the Girl from Cleveland. "If some horny-handed farmer lad would only rescue and propose to me, I'd leave this life of toil and uncertainty and settle down to ease and luxury as a rural bride."

* * *

But the advance engine and its crew moved forward thru the rush of waters and the train bearing the Everywoman Company proceeded slowly. At six o'clock it crawled into Natchez and the company scrambled madly about to find rooms. Unfortunately the Elks were holding a convention. This meant standing room only at the performance, but the present concern of the players was *rooms*, beds and meals.

This is one of the recurring daily problems that One Night Stands entail.



THRU MISSISSIPPI FLOODS.

Sometimes there are rooms at the hotels and sometimes not. Then boarding houses are requisitioned when possible, or private housewives appealed to.

"What time do you-all get in nights?" asked one grim, suspicious looking woman at Little Rock, who had been asked to rent a room for the night.

"We have to wash up after the show. O! About twelve o'clock," replied one of the girls.

"Humph! Humph! No, I ain't got no rooms to rent. This is a respectable place. I don't want no such goings-on in my house," snapped the woman as she slammed the door.

"O Lord! She thinks all we have to do is to ride around in limousines, drink champagne and blow money, I suppose. Now, where shall we go? I'm dead tired, dirty and hungry. And first curtain only two hours away."

But at eight fifteen the curtain arose, as curtains all over the United States have regularly arisen on the first act of the Everywoman Company, a first class Broadway production, for the past four years. Some way, some how, every member of the cast has found lodging, eaten some sort of a supper or lunch and been on hand to do his or her part.

Miss Edna Porter, who has been Leading Lady in Everywoman for four years, is a socialist and one of the most beautiful and brilliant young women on the American stage today. From its long run in New York this play has been everywhere a pronounced success. It has been so successful that several companies have been organized to tour the country, making jumps of first a week and three or four days and finally doing the best one, two and three night towns in the south and middle west.

Miss Porter was one of the originals in the Broadway production and has been writing us some illuminating letters on Doing the One-Night Stands.

This spring the Everywoman Company has traveled through miles and miles of Mississippi swamp lands, nearly all of which was submerged owing to the spring floods. But they have not missed one engagement out of one hundred and fifty-six towns and over two hundred performances.

Miss Edna Porter tells an interesting story on Miss Morrison, daughter of Lewis Morrison of Faust fame. Jumping from

town to town as rapidly as the companies do in short time stops, it is necessary for the performers to keep a route card before them to know where they are.

Miss Morrison, who was playing in Texas, jumped into a cab awaiting her before her hotel and commanded the cabman to take her to the station.

"Where are you going?" inquired the Jehu.

Miss Morrison looked puzzled. "I don't know," she said, "but we leave from the station where we came in yesterday."

"Well, where did you come from?" persisted the cabman.

"I don't KNOW," groaned the actress, "and, what's more, I don't even know where I am at this minute."

Miss Porter writes that anybody who believes the actress, the actor or the crew who make One-Night Stands does not belong to the working class has another guess



Photo by Moses & Sons, New Orleans.

EDNA PORTER AS EVERYWOMAN.

coming, as these dates are just 'one problem after another, with never a dull moment."

"Verdun may fall and Berlin provoke a revolution; floods may rise and floods may fall; sickness may come and sickness may go, but the curtain goes up at 8:15 and Everywoman goes on forever."

No two towns mean the same problems, although every new point means finding rooms, unpacking, getting mail, looking for laundry, sending telegrams, tracing missing necessities, finding places to eat, buying necessities, etc., etc.

Nearly everywhere the whole town combines to "do" the company. The natural prey of the small town restaurant, laundry, store and hotel is the One-Night Companies, which have to accept what is offered and cannot remain to fight over an overcharge, a lost piece of laundry, or to effect any sort of retribution upon the Hold-Up Crew. The whole company has to pay and get on to make the next date.

"Pull," of course, puts anybody to the top at once in any field of endeavor; but the road of the ordinary actor and actress is a rocky one. If you work very hard, possess an iron constitution and show marked ability and remarkable personal charm, you may land an engagement with a Broadway production. But if anybody imagines this is a Bed of Roses, he is bound to find the surprise of his life, especially if the show proves a hit and is sent out on the Road.

When a company is making One-Night Stands, for example, there is always flood, fire and late trains to contend with. Bed at one and rising to meet a train at five, six or seven o'clock would send a group of factory workers on strike before the whistle blew. And sometimes this happens three or four days running.

On Easter Sunday the members of the Everywoman Company were at the depot to catch an eight o'clock train for Omaha. Worn out with long jumps the preceding week and two performances on Saturday, they hoped to reach Omaha in time to clean up and rest up for the evening performance. Some of the cast hoped to attend Easter afternoon service.

But the train was two hours and forty minutes late! Everybody had given up their rooms and there they sat at the depot, worn and sleepy, All Dressed Up and No Place to Go. At Omaha they had barely

time to snatch a bite and dress for the evening performance as the train arrived at seven o'clock.

It is cold cars one day and hot cars the next; late cars one day and floods the day after, and there are more varieties of rain and storm and trouble than you could imagine in a week.

The Everywoman Company declared that there is more good food spoiled in poor hotels and cafes and restaurants than a layman would believe—served, half-cooked, poorly-cooked, over-cooked, burned, cold, dirty and many other ways. But the actor always has to *pay*.

A sick thespian means Pay Day for the Quack Doctors. One may examine you and diagnose your case, prescribe and relieve—your pocket book at Louisville. The next medic will do his best and worst at Memphis, and at the third and fourth stop they take what you have left.

One girl in the Everywoman Company rose at seven to undergo a nose operation. The Company left at nine o'clock. She barely caught the train. During the week following three other physicians treated her.

If you oversleep, or the hotel clerk forgets to call you, or the alarm clock goes on strike and you do not wake up in time to catch the Company train, you do your best to catch another. One time out of a hundred, perhaps, there is a way of making connections! Sometimes you can hire an automobile and sign away what salary you hope to collect before the close of the season.

They tell us that the actress rarely gets away without leaving something behind for folks to "remember her by," stockings, laundry, clocks, umbrellas, books, slippers, night gowns, tooth brushes, toilet articles, rubbers, etc., etc. And she recovers these about once in a lifetime. So that professional people usually count these left-behinds as donations to the powers that prey.

When things are stolen from the company it is almost useless to appeal to hotel managers. A young girl in the Everywoman Company was robbed of a purse containing \$120. She asked the hotel clerk to have a search made for it. The request was refused, but the hotel night detective was sent to search among the company. Needless to say the purse was never recovered.

ered. Another dramatic contribution to the Hold Up Crew.

The actress on the road can have one never-failing "friend." Dramatic companies are not annoyed so much as the musical companies, but some "Johnnies" are hopelessly hopeful and optimistic, especially when father happens to have money and an automobile. They cannot imagine how any girl can resist a machine.

"They accost us on one corner, circle the block, engineer a flank movement and so on till we reach our hotel or boarding house," writes Miss Porter, "and they are as hard to lose as a California flea. Hope springs *infernal* in their breast, where they seem to do their thinking."

"If the Board of Health Inspectors would take a look in at the dressing rooms of the small town theaters at which we make One Night Stands, they would often find them without windows and ventilation of any kind. They make some factories look like palaces in matters of sanitation."

* * *

Fortunately the day is past in which professional people considered themselves in a class above other workingmen and women, and when they were too proud to join a union to force better conditions. But until they organize as a class they may expect these conditions to grow worse every year.

It is rumored that members of some of the best productions in America are considering affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. While this might not mean all we could wish in the way of organization, this might immeasurably strengthen the position of the players. Particularly is this true should the A. F. of L. decide to help them to enforce their

demands and protests as the Building Trades back up the demands of their fellow workers.

The Chicago Hod Carriers, unskilled and often "foreign" laborers, work leisurely only eight hours a day, and they receive a daily wage of \$5.76. Organized by themselves they would possess very little power, as their places could be filled in case of strike in a very few days or hours. But they are organized *with* the Building Trade workers, who at any danger menacing the wages, hours or working conditions of the Hod Carriers threaten to tie up all the construction work in the city of Chicago.

An injury to the Hod Carriers means antagonizing the entire trade.

If a few professional men and women attempt to fight the employers or managers *alone*, they are doomed to failure. If they affiliate with other labor organizations, or are able to form a complete organization of their own profession, they can accomplish great results.

The statement has been made that the "White Rats have unquestionably done more than any other organization of actors since Thespis stood on the back of a cart."

The Actors' Equity Association has been formed for the purpose of causing "its members to take such lawful action as in the discretion of the Council shall benefit the profession."

"To protect and secure the rights of actors, etc., etc."

* * *

Our advice to the actors is to co-operate and organize with every other member of their profession, and with other trades as widely as possible. Strength comes thru union.





THE SOURCE OF RELIGION

By J. Howard Moore

RELIGION is a strictly human infirmity. No other animal has it. It originated far back in the past, when the human world was young and the mind just beginning to open. It is an anachronism today, with our science and understanding. It survives solely by the force of tradition.

Religion came out of the brain of the savage. It has been revised and revised, in adaptation to the changing knowledge of men, but it has always retained the unmistakable earmarks of its genesis.

Religion has had a natural origin. It has been produced, like everything else, in the laboratory of this world. Nothing is above Nature. There is no such thing as the supernatural. This is one of the glories of modern science—the discovery that everything on the earth is a part of the earth and shares in its nature the general nature of the earth.

We used to talk about "Man and Nature"—as if man were not a part of Nature; and about "Man and the Animals"—as if man were not an animal. But these ideas are passing away forever. There is not one law for the insect and another for the philosopher. The earth is a unit. The human body is made of the same matters as those that sing in the streams, and roar in the winds, and sleep in the everlasting rocks. The human brain is a tissue which a hundred million years ago lined the mouth-roofs of worms. Some one has admiringly defined man as an animated carrot. Chem-

ically considered, he is but an inglorious gruel of sand and sea-water.

The primitive mind was steeped in supernaturalism. Everything was supposed to be caused by spirits. When a tree fell in the forest, it fell because some spirit threw it down. Gravity had nothing to do with it. If the tree fell on some one, it was supposed to have been thrown that way on purpose by an evil spirit. When a man got sick or lost his mind, it was because some evil spirit had wormed its way into the man and pushed the rightful spirit out. There were no microbes among savages. In the Bible and other primitive books we read constantly of the "casting out" of evil spirits. Instead of anti-toxins, primitive doctors used magic, vile drugs, and noise to drive out the spiritual interlopers.

During all the earlier ages of the world man's great and abiding anxiety was to act in such a way as to gain the favor of the good spirits and to outwit the evil ones. Ghosts, gods, goblins, spirits, demons, fairies and what not, swarmed about him from his cradle to his grave. He prayed and offered sacrifices; he sprinkled himself with holy water; he sang praises; he built temples; he prostrated himself in fear and supplication. It is pitiful to think how much time and money and energy and agony man has used up escaping the creatures of his own imagination.

To a savage, things are what they seem to be. He doesn't trouble himself to go behind appearances to find causes. The

sun actually rises and sets, as it seems to do. The earth cannot turn round on its axis, because it is flat, and because we would all fall off on the under side.

Religion is a child of wonder. It is the first roughdraft of man's explanation of the universe. The sub-human mind takes things for granted. It is without curiosity. Man's mind asks *why*. Religion is an unsuccessful attempt to put two and two together. Man saw a black thing running by his side, and he wondered what it was. He bent down over the pool to drink and he saw something down there looking up at him, and his wonder deepened.

To the savage, a shadow is a reality, and the image he sees when he looks into the water is one of his souls. The Greenlanders believe that their shadow is one of their souls. The Fijians call it "the dark spirit." The Basutos (Africa) are careful when they walk near the water to see that their shadow does not fall in, for fear the crocodile will get it and pull them in with it.

The savage knows nothing of the undulatory theory of sound. He never even suspects that the air is a substance. But he does believe that back of everything that happens is a spirit. Echoes are the voices of spirits calling from the invisible world to their friends here in the world of matter.

Savages are reluctant about having their picture taken. They believe that photographic impression is something taken out of them. Maybe it is their "life," and the loss will prove important in time.

Dreams are actual experiences to the savage. In sleep the soul leaves the body and wanders in the spirit-world. This spirit-world of the sleeper evolves later into the future world or heaven of more advanced peoples. If it had not been for the phenomenon of dreams, it is doubtful whether man ever would have succeeded in inventing the belief in a hereafter. Death to the savage is an "eternal sleep," when the soul leaves the body for good, and wanders endlessly among the spirits of invisible spheres.

Hell was the headquarters of the evil

spirits. It had to be located somewhere, so it was placed in the earth. Heaven was up among the stars, and was supposed to be only a few hours' journey above the earth. According to the ancient Hebrew conception, the sky was the metallic floor of the celestial regions, and the stars were the openings thru which angels and prophets came and went in their journeyings between heaven and earth. The rain did not come from the sea, but from these "windows of heaven," which were opened now and then. At the time of the Flood these windows were fastened open for 40 days, and the water poured thru until it was 4 or 5 miles deep all over the earth. Whatever became of all this water no one has ever yet made plain.

The idea of hell is rapidly becoming extinct. It is too repellent for anything but a very dull or a very cruel mind. We hold on to heaven because it is pleasant. But it must not be overlooked that heaven and hell are twins. They came together out of the same womb of primitive superstition. They rest on identical foundations. Man is a comical animal. He thinks he is logical.

The human mind is in its infancy. Man is a recent species. Mankind will live for millions of years. The short past is as nothing compared with the almost-endless ages to come.

Religion is essentially pre-scientific. It will pass away. It represents a certain stage of mental development. It has been tinkered with and tinkered with, until it is about ready for the scrap heap. The more men know of chemistry and physics and evolution and natural law, the less use they have for supernaturalism. No true scientist can pray. Prayer is unscientific. No evolutionist can believe in the divine origin of anything.

Religion has had a natural origin, like coal, and rock salt, and mountains, and river valleys, and everything else. It has been made in the laboratory of human feeling and imagination. The gods did not make men; men made the gods.

THE LEFT WING

Imperialism

By S. J. RUTGERS

NOTE: Dr. S. J. Rutgers, who has been for years associated with the best known socialists of Holland and Germany, as a member of the uncompromising Social Democratic Party of Holland, and who is in close touch with the European comrades who are planning for a new Socialist Conference, to be wholly International in its aims, has consented to write a short series of articles for the REVIEW, of which this is the second. His general subject is the attitude toward Imperialism and toward Internationalism of the LEFT WING, or revolutionary group, in each of the Socialist parties in Europe today. These groups seem to us to contain within themselves the only hope of a real working class International. We want every reader of the REVIEW to read these articles carefully, and discuss them with comrades who have become discouraged and left the Socialist Party. We believe that an overwhelming majority of American Socialists will welcome the plan of action suggested in these articles, and will desire to swing the Socialist Party of America into line with the new International that is even now taking definite form. We believe these articles will prove to be the most valuable series we have ever published in the REVIEW. They will put the American comrades, who want a revolutionary organization, in touch with the comrades across the ocean who have like aims and a more definite program.—EDITORS.

THE editors have asked me to give more information about the principles and action advocated by the European Socialists of the Left Wing, who signed the resolution printed on page 648 of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW for May. In so doing, it is of foremost importance to make clear what these groups understand by *Imperialism*.

This is not so simple as it may seem, and the dictionary will not help. For Imperialism is a living conception, that has already an evolution of its own, and that will broaden its meaning until it has taken definite form in the heads and hearts of the workers.

Originally the word Imperialism was used in the more restricted meaning of foreign colonial expansion in its modern form, resulting in monopolistic tendencies, and in the investment for export of fixed capital such as steel and machinery, instead of textiles and other commodities for direct consumption. This form of Imperialism attracted general attention in Europe, where it originated, and it soon became clear that foreign aggression was not simply a colonial problem, but that Imperialism includes a number of tendencies in modern capitalism that materially affect the relations of social classes: Imperialism means not merely an aggressive *foreign policy*, but an aggressive *home policy* as well.

In Europe it had already been noticed that for some ten years preceding the present world war there had been an absolute stagnation in political reforms. After a period in which some political results, some so-called social laws, were secured, there followed a period of reaction. Not only did the bourgeoisie refuse to make any further concession to the working class, but some of the advantages already granted were actually withdrawn. The greatly admired social laws in Germany, for example, enacted some forty years ago, have recently been mutilated, by taking away from the working class the greater part of its influence over the management of the funds.

It has become evident that the significance of European parliaments is on the decline, while the importance of the executive and the senate is generally increasing; that there is a growing tendency among the judges to exercise political influence, and that the police grows more powerful and more brutal. Wherever there was a clash between military and civil government, the latter has had to back down, and attacks on free speech and a free press are more frequent. There was a general reaction all along the line, and back of these reactionary measures were the same interests that cause foreign aggression—namely, big capital and monopoly.

It was gradually realized by close ob-

servers of these tendencies among the European Socialists, that foreign aggression and home aggression were two faces of the same monster. They came to see that Capitalism, under the absolute rule of highly concentrated and monopolistic financial interests, means a new phase of development with new forms of the class struggle; it means the broadening of the class struggle into an international world struggle. It is this new policy of the capitalist class, under control of financial, monopolistic capital, that European Socialists now mean when they speak of Imperialism. In this sense Imperialism is the present day form of the class struggle.

Among the characteristics of this new class-policy in Europe are: Aggressive, brutal home policy; no results from parliamentary action; declining influence of congress with increasing power of the executive; brutal police; reactionary judges; growing influence of militarism; attack on free speech and a free press.

But that is exactly what you have in the United States!!—in a form and an intensity that puts Europe in the shadow!!

All the symptoms of your own case lead to this one diagnosis: *Highly advanced Imperialism of a special American variety, with retarded development of foreign aggression.*

No one can fail to see this, and to me it was a kind of revelation, because it solved at once a problem that has been haunting many of us over in Europe.

Most of the European Socialists who were interested in American conditions reasoned as follows: In Europe we have succeeded in getting some social reforms, and we expect gradually to get more, together with a development of democratic influence on the government. In the United States, conditions being economically more advanced, and democratic forms better developed, the result should be: more political reforms; yet we observe that the results are, on the whole, negative. Then we shrugged our shoulders and murmured something about the difficulties of so many different languages, corruption, etc., but we knew that these were by no means a satisfactory explanation.

Now as soon as we realize that present-day capitalism has *not* a growing tendency

for social reforms and democracy, but that, on the contrary, the old middle class democracy is on the decline, and social reforms, as a means to keep labor quiet and content, have lost much of their attraction to capitalists, the American situation loses much of its mystery.

European Left Wing Socialists had already emphasized, over and over again, that in fighting the power of Big Capital, the labor politicians as such were powerless, and that labor can gain only by putting its organized mass-power against the capitalist power as organized in trustified industries and in the State. These smaller groups of European Socialists had, however, a hard job in fighting their own official party leaders. This all-day fighting did not leave much time to study American conditions, and moreover the outbreak of the war meant a temporary disorganization of the Left Wings.

Since then there has been a readjustment, and the war, which was the practical, tho horrible proof, that the official parties were wrong and the principles of the Left Wing were right, has clarified the problem, and has already produced a new literature and a start towards the consolidation of future tactics in the class struggle.

At the same time the interest of European Socialists in the problems of the United States, now that it prepares to enter the field of world politics, has increased; and we can now understand, that because the United States is ahead of Europe in industrial development, your home policy must be brutal, and social reforms are lacking. Far from expecting more political reforms and more influence of the workers upon the government than is found in Europe, and far from expecting a less brutal suppression of the workers in this so-called "democratic" country, it proves logical to expect a more complete failure of middle class democracy under the iron heel of financial capital. Even without much aggression in the direction of foreign colonies, Imperialism, being the latest form of the capitalist class struggle, must put its mark on all of your social institutions as well.

The American comrades will realize that, in the more fundamental sense of the word, Imperialism has already developed in your country, even farther than it has in Europe,

and that the stagnation of your political party is due to this development. In recognizing this will be found the only hope for getting out of the dead-lock.

Nevertheless the United States shows signs of a new life. Mass action, which in Europe, up to now, has been advocated without much result, has grown up in the United States out of the practical facts—not as a theory, but as a necessity of working class conditions. Spontaneous mass actions on the economic field, and a general recognition that the future belongs to a higher form of organization along industrial instead of craft lines, may be considered as the more positive and hopeful results of Imperialistic development in the United States.

That American comrades have not hitherto recognized Imperialism as the basic cause of the difficulties in carrying on the proletarian organization along the old lines, is due to the fact that Imperialism in America has not shown its most familiar face of foreign aggression. This, however, has only been a temporary phase, caused by the big possibilities in developing your own "new world." Now that your masters have decided to embark upon world politics, the last excuse for not recognizing actual conditions has disappeared, and even those who still imagine they have some political "democracy," must admit that the coming wave of militarism will sweep away all that may be left of the old methods and old ideals.

That foreign aggression and militarism are on their way in the United States, no one can deny. Preparedness overshadows all other problems, and there is not the least doubt about the meaning of this "preparedness." Your government has already tightened its grip on Haiti and on some of the "independent" republics in Central America; it has already practically decided upon intervention in Mexico. The fact that your president dreads the consequences of his "punitive expedition," knowing that real intervention at the present moment might mean the defeat and annihilation of the present army of the United States, may give some delay, but will not alter the final results. It is typical of the unscrupulous methods of Big Capital, that they would not hesitate one moment to sacrifice the nation's army, and even some of their own temporary interests

in Mexico, in order to stimulate the necessary national feeling and militaristic spirit at home, and to secure their future interests, not only in Mexico, but in the world at large.

If you wish to know what will be your future politics, you have simply to watch the activities of your bankers. The fifty million dollars invested in the "American International Corporation," organized by the National City Bank, affiliated with the Rockefeller interests, is of more importance than all the acts of Congress in a whole session. The increasing number of branches of United States banking houses, in foreign countries, are the forerunners of Imperialistic capitalism, and pave the way for this aggressive form of capitalism, as missionaries did for the old style of colonial exploitation. The fact that each university is requested to send two graduates to be trained at the National City Bank for well-paid jobs in South America and elsewhere, illustrates the interests of the middle class in Imperialistic policy. There can be no greater mistake than to think that behind preparedness are *only* the interests of armament manufacturers. Those interests may be powerful; they could not dominate the whole nation, if it were not for Imperialism, binding together the different groups of capitalists with a new strong *ideology of world power*.

It is disappointing to see the lack of understanding among the workers, just at the time when the forces of aggression are organizing efficiently. Take for example the "International Trade Conference," where hundreds of bigger and smaller manufacturers came together with the big banking interests to discuss ways and means for the better exploitation of the world, and especially of South America. It was certainly touching to hear these big bankers explain that their patriotic aim was to stimulate American industry, that they wanted to give good service for small profits, etc. Of course these passages in the speeches were for the public and the press, none of the interested parties being fooled by them. And altho not on the official program, there arose at this meeting a gentleman who had general attention and sympathy, showing a picture, on which were indicated in brilliant colors the big part of the total product that went to labor, and relatively small parts left to the differ-

ent forms of profit. And he proved that in Europe the conditions were not quite so hard for capital, and that there was not much in foreign trade and foreign markets unless this big share of labor in the United States could be reduced considerably. General applause followed, altho the chairman explained that this gentleman was out of order, meaning that such a truth should not be spoken out loud. This incident gives an excellent illustration of the fact that a reduction of the share of labor in its product, which means *home* aggression, is another face of that same Imperialism that prepares for *foreign* aggression; both faces together showing the new and brutal form of the class struggle.

There has been a lack of understanding and an almost criminal lack of interest among the workers of the United States as to Imperialism, probably because it was supposed to be a special European problem.

Many Socialists did realize that the problem would come to America some time, but it was not thought very actual. As soon, however, as you see Imperialism in its broader sense, and in the light of your own American conditions, it becomes the most important problem in actual tactics; it means moreover for you a chance for the rebirth of your own Socialist movement.

This is so all-important, that in our next article it will be necessary to prove more completely, that the broader conception of Imperialism, as understood in Europe by the Left Wing, is no mere clever piece of construction, but that it is based upon and grows out of solid economic facts.

NOTE.—The address of the Left Wing of the Zimmerwalder Conferenz was misprinted in the May issue of the REVIEW and should read Fritz Platen, Rotachstr., 23, Zurich, Switzerland. There is another typographical error at the top of page 648 in the declaration of Ledebour and Hoffman, who voted against the war credits because there were no *foreign* soldiers in Germany, which is a nationalistic argument and accepts the principle of defending capitalist fatherlands.

Soldiers in the Factories

By JACK CARNEY

If ever there was a need for class organization instead of craft organization, that need is clearly demonstrated in Great Britain today. The British working class has recently been put under the control of the military authorities.

The Military Service Act was passed and the working class was powerless to prevent it. There are today in Great Britain twelve hundred labor unions, each union having its own executive committee and its own set of officials. The result is, instead of having an organized labor movement, we have a disorganized working class.

When British Conscription was made the law, the working class should have revolted. It was clearly the only thing they could have done to help themselves. But, thanks to their reactionary leaders, they calmly accepted the situation with the result that the propaganda and educational work of the last twenty years has all been thrown away.

The labor leaders assured the rank and file that conscription was for military

purposes only. Yet we find, despite all the talk and cry for men, that the workshops are gradually being filled with *SOLDIERS*. These soldiers will not strike, because if they do, they are sent back to the firing line.

It would be well if American comrades would take note of this and do something to dam the tide of militarism in this country.

During March over 15,000 Glasgow munition workers came out on strike. Their Manifesto, printed in part below, speaks for itself. You will notice that soldiers are now being used at six cents an hour, thereby reducing the wage standard of the other workers. As the soldiers refused, or perhaps feared to join the union, the other workers struck against these conditions:

MANIFESTO FROM PARKHEAD FORCE ENGINEERS TO THEIR FELLOW WORKERS

Fellow Workers—We stopped work on Friday, March 17th, and have been on strike since. During the eighteen months of war our Shop Stewards have given every possible assistance

towards increasing the output. The Convener, Bro. David Kirkwood, has been specially active in this respect, having, with the approval of the management, used all his influence in removing every cause of friction and even in finding the ever necessary additional labor.

About two months ago the Commissioners appointed by the Government to introduce the scheme for the dilution of labor to the Clyde area visited Parkhead. We received them in the most cordial manner, and an agreement was made by which the employers pledged themselves not to use this scheme for the purpose of introducing cheap labor and also to give a committee appointed by the skilled workers an opportunity of seeing that this pledge was kept. But immediately after our consent to the scheming was obtained a new spirit was felt in the workshops. Soldiers, mostly Englishmen, were brought in, and these refused to join a trade union.

An agreement existed to the effect that all men employed must be trade unionists, but in the case of the soldiers the foremen did not apply this rule, as they did with other tradesmen engaged, and we had no means of enforcing compliance with it. In one shop, known as the 15-inch shell shop, over 100 men were put to work at lathes turning these shells and at horizontal machines boring these shells at a rate of sixpence per hour. Machines of this type have always been manned by tradesmen who received the standard rate of wages for engineers in the district. In another shop, known as the Howitzer shop, women were introduced, and on our Shop Stewards visiting this shop to ascertain the conditions of female labor the management strongly protested and contended that Bro. Kirkwood or any other Shop Steward had no right to discuss the question of wages or conditions with the women workers. Previously our Chief Shop Steward had perfect freedom to visit this shop if he felt it necessary to do so.

Next came instructions to our Chief Shop Steward, Bro. Kirkwood, that on no account was he to leave his bench without permission from the management during working hours. All these things and various smaller changes made it obvious to us that our trade union representatives were to be bound and blind-folded while the trade by which our means of life are obtained was being reduced in the interest of capitalists to the level of the most lowly occupation.

We submitted our grievance about the introduction of non-union soldiers to the Board of Trade, but, so far as we know, our complaint was not noticed. We directed the attention of our paid officials to the cheap labor in the shell shop, but they have failed to protect us. Therefore, when the restriction was imposed on our Shop Stewards, we felt that our only hope lay in drastic action by ourselves.

Fellow workers, we are fighting the battle of all workers. If they smash us they will smash you. Our victory will be your victory. Unite with us in demanding that during the present crisis our Shop Stewards in every workshop where dilution is in force shall have the fullest liberty to investigate the conditions under which the new class labor is employed, so that

this may not be used to reduce us all to a lower standard of life.

The Government arrested men and fined them in fines of \$25 to \$125, but this failed to drive them back to work. So on March 24th the leaders, or active strikers (*not* the official leaders) were arrested and deported. All were sent away and told to keep away from Glasgow on pain of death.

So these fighting strikers are now free to work, *if they can get it*. But no employer will hire them. Their position is worse than that of the men in prison, for they, at least, do not starve. These rebels must starve if they do not get work of some kind. They are under police supervision and must report to the police twice daily.

At present the Military can order any one to be "lifted" at any time, without trial or charge, and can send them wherever they think fit. Great Britain is certainly a good ally of Russia.

When I left Scotland at the beginning of May there were over 20,000 jute workers out on strike in Dundee. But the military authorities were in a quandary. They could not drive them back to work. Arresting a few workers would not intimidate the others. It is plain to be seen that *economic power is the power*.

If the workers of Great Britain had been industrially organized, this European war would never have taken place. At the first sound of battle, the transport workers and engineers should have "downed" tools; but their antiquated methods of organization made that impossible.

Today the workers of Great Britain have lost any liberties they may have possessed. Under the Munitions Act, a worker cannot leave his employer unless he obtains a certificate. An employer cannot hire a man without a certificate. The worker is helpless.

Much has been said about the trades unions being too old to be destroyed. Unless they *are* destroyed, I see no hope for the British working class. They will have to fight their future battles, not on lines of *craft*, but on the lines of *class*. Their present federations are of no use to them. They must be scrapped. To fit themselves for future action, they will have to organize in *one big union*.



JOLTS AND JABS

By Jack Phillips

HERE'S a scare, a fear, a shiver of dread, in the American business world. It is not a bugaboo, a bogey, a straw man or a shadow the business world is in shivers about. It's a real power, a real threat, a big strong club in the air. And if it comes down, this big strong club, it will mean hell in the United States in the sense that General Sherman said war is hell.

A general strike on the railroads of the United States—a tie-up of all the freight and passenger traffic of this country from coast to coast—that's the scare. A universal strike of the railroad brotherhoods, acting in a joint movement—that's the big strong club.

If it comes it will be the biggest strike in numbers of men and values of property involved that has ever been seen in North or South America. Also it would be the greatest railroad strike the world has ever known.

What are the betting chances for a

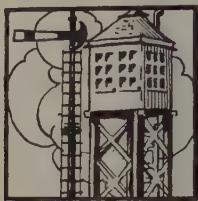
strike? How real is the danger? Why won't the railroad managers and the railroad brotherhoods sit down together and talk it all over together and some way or other get together on a working agreement, just as they have always done in the past? Here's the big reason:

In every recent arbitration in the railway world the workers have been handed a lemon, trimmed for suckers, ushered out of the door with many rich compliments and a kick in the pants. The old feeling of ten and fifteen years ago about arbitration has changed. Arbitration is a fake and a fraud. It's a game where money, politics, manipulation, counts. That's the way many railroad workers look at it.

Starting in June it is announced railroad managers and the officers and delegates of railroad brotherhoods will meet at the same time in New York and hold conference. The details of the conference have not been

announced. Just how they will parley and dicker is not known. All that is definitely understood is that one grand talkfest will be on.

A tallowpot we asked about it said he guessed it would be a "grand rag-chewing match."



The publicity bureaus of the brotherhoods seem to think it's very important to get before the country a detailed statement of their case with a lot of statistics disputing the statistics of the railroad company publicity bureaus.

W. Brotherhood officials in a few statements imply that the important thing is to show by figures on hours and wages that the brotherhoods are right and the railroads wrong.

This line of argument will lose. When it comes to arguing statistics on hours and wages the publicity machinery of the railroads will back the brotherhoods off the boards.

The brotherhoods will get "public opinion" their way only by big simple appeals.

The fundamental demands of the real live wires who are behind the rebellion in the brotherhood is for (1) the eight-hour day, and (2) a larger share of the stolen swag and mass of loot called "dividends" and obtained by reckless, crooked financing of railroad corporations.

Unless the rail men make the nation see that a bunch of plundering thieves and rioting burglars and cunning manipulators are running the railroads for the robbery not only of the public, but of the railroad workers—they won't get far.

Already the railroad-fed press has made a lot of people believe that the owners and managers of the railroads of the United States are all patient, intelligent toilers, wrestling with difficult problems of transportation and exacting from the public only a fair and decent return.

The collective and capitalized thievery of Jay Gould and Edward Harriman, and the known, questionable operations of J. P.

Morgan & Co., the Rockefellers and Jim Hill—these are pretty well forgotten because a railroad-fed press has pictured these men as heroes. At the same time year on year it has pictured the railroad workers, the trainmen and enginemen as the happiest, high-wage-earning lucky devils, aristocrats of labor.

This crust of false sentiment built up by years of careful publicity work, the rail brotherhoods will have to break through. It can't be broken through by statistical arguments on tables of hours and wages.

It's twenty-three years now since there has been a big railroad strike involving more than one road and more than one railroad craft. During these twenty-three years there has been much talk, much legislative action, much political maneuvering, many full-crew bills, many 50-car train bills—and no direct action.

The question is whether an organization which has had no practice in direct action for so long a period of time is any good at all in any kind of direct action.

At the recent Chicago conference the newspapers quoted President W. G. Lee of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and President William S. Carter of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, as retracting their utterances that a strike would probably be called.

These officials, along with Grand Chief Stone of the engineers, dropped all strike talk.

If the newspapers quoted them correctly, the chances are that the skids are greased for another arbitration—and another flim-flam.

It would have been easy for these brotherhood officials to have gone on record in the newspapers in some way to indicate that there will be industrial war, economic rebellion, widespread railroad revolt, unless the 8-hour day demand is granted. No such utterance came from any of the rail brotherhood officials. The whole look of it is that they won't strike unless they get slapped violently across their noses and insulted beyond endurance.

Will they back down, compromise, and get trimmed for suckers again?

Or is the rank and file membership making itself felt so that there will be some sort of a settlement this summer that rail

men feel is a credit to their manhood?

What's coming?

THE mouth of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., opened May 15 at the international convention of the Young Men's Christian Associations of North America. And the mouth spake many words and threw out this:

"As we face the great industrial problems which are arising daily it seems clear that the only hope of their permanent and satisfactory solution lies in the widespread acceptance of the doctrine of the brotherhood of man."

This hits us the same way as advice from a bigamist that we should have only one wife, or the counsel of a murderer that it is not beautiful for men to kill each other.

With John R. Lawson under sentence of a life term in the gray walls of Colorado state's prison, what business does John D. Rockefeller, Jr., have to open his mouth and blatter about the brotherhood of man?

In a nation where drunken gunmen kill and burn women and children as at Ludlow, by what laws of social discourse is the sanctioner of those drunken gunmen permitted to prattle about the brotherhood of man?

A pickpocket addressing a Y. M. C. A. convention on the beauties of honesty, or a burglar telling a Sunday school class it's wrong to burgle—either one of them looks as good to some of us as John D., Jr., opening his mouth on the "brotherhood of man."

Warren S. Stone, grand chief of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, followed John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Both spoke on the subject: "Spiritual Forces Creating and Solving Modern Industrial Problems." Somebody ought to have been on the program to spout on: "How to Drive a Small Water Wagon Through a Large Hell."



PREPAREDNESS.

HEP—HEP—WATCH YOUR STEP.

Under cover of war scares and "preparedness," employers have the chance now to build military machines for crushing labor strikes.

Notice Swift & Co., the Chicago pork packers. They have organized a military battalion. Regular army rifles and cartridges have been stocked up and the battalion will go on a strict regular army footing. If war breaks out between the United States and some other nation, then the sausage millionaires will offer their battalion as a gift to the nation.

This is where our modern industrial feudalism resembles the medieval feudal lords who in war time offered the king and nation each so many cohorts of warriors.

If stockyards workers get tired of one of the lowest miserable wage scales in this country and go on strike—well, Jack, what would Swift & Co. do with its battalion of soldiers?

There is a good "press pearl" in the Manufacturers' News, organ of Illinois Manufacturers' Association, commenting on Swift & Co.

"Other employers intend to follow the example of Swift & Co.," it is stated. "A large downstate agricultural implement factory is securing data preliminary to organizing military companies among its employes. The manufacturers are patriotic. They are gratified when their men join the state militia. Many of the owners and executives of manufacturing plants are in the national guard regiments. Last summer many leading industries throughout the state sent some of their best men to the military encamp-

ment at Fort Sheridan. Felt & Tarrant Mfg. Co. sent half a dozen men to the military school of instruction. So did the Link Belt Co., Chicago Surface Lines, Chicago Telephone Co. and a long list of other employers. They paid salaries to their young men while they were drilling and encouraged them in every other way. This is real patriotism."

DUN'S and Bradstreet's are both reported to give out these figures. Profits of 334 corporations for year preceding May 1, 1916, were \$440,606,361. Fourteen powder and munitions companies divided among their shareholders \$140,000,000.

Yet the *Manufacturers' News*, official organ Illinois Manufacturers' Association, has the nerve to say that the flood of strikes and factory troubles around Chicago in May was caused by "spring laziness" and the "latent gypsy blood in all of us."

And the view of a Chicago manufacturer told to a reporter run this way:

"War order factories in the east paying high wages have drawn off some of the cream of Chicago's labor. The Remington Arms Co. of Bridgeport, Conn., has been paying Chicago machinists 10 cents an hour bonus in order to have machinists on call. Several hundred have left Chicago to take eastern jobs at 75 cents an hour. For weeks these machinists, while working for the International Harvester Co. and other concerns, were paid 90 cents a day by the Remington Arms Co., with the understanding they would quit Chicago the day they were called for eastern jobs.

"It used to be easy to hire hundreds of strikebreakers. Now it's hard to fill places of strikers. Even some of the professional strikebreakers have quit their connections with private detective agencies. Munitions plants need guards. Many of the best operatives who went from city to city in the employ of Jim Farley are now getting the highest pay they have ever drawn keeping watch on suspicious strangers around munitions plants."

GUY BIDDINGER, the guy who did the dictograph work for Detective Wilyum J. Burns in the gathering of so-called evidence against the structural iron workers who are now in Leavenworth federal



prison, is under indictment for crooked work in Chicago.

Before the g-r-e-a-t Wilyum J. Burns picked up Biddinger, Guy was a detectatuff sergeant in Chicago.

And he was some detectatuff, this Burns star.

A mass of evidence backed by eleven witnesses back up indictments, four of which charge bribery, two alleging operation of a confidence game, and one alleging the assisted escape of a prisoner.

This is the kind of Honest Man—Gentleman of Integrity—Righteous Protector of Society—Defender of Legitimate Business against Violence—on whose evidences the ironworkers' union officials were convicted.

A. WATSON ARMOUR, speaking for the biggest meat house in the world, says Armour & Co. never pay unskilled labor less than 20 cents an hour. Working steady 52 weeks a year, six days a week, 10 hours a day, the unskilled labor hero working for Armour & Co. thus would earn \$624 the year. And as it costs \$800 a year for the elemental life necessities of a worker with wife and two children, we see where the unskilled stockyards worker gets off. At the time A. Watson Armour offered the public this important information, some of his fertilizer plant slave men and women and girls were on strike. He pointed to the 20-cent-an-hour wage to prove he's a good fellow and the beef trust is good to its slaves. None of the Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian preachers had the nerve to stand up and publicly yell to A. Watson Armour: "Say, where do you get that stuff?"

Maurice L. Rothschild, boss of the largest men's clothing store in the world, State street and Jackson boulevard, Chicago, has spilled the beans on the minimum wage game. After signing a three-year contract with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Rothschild gave a reporter a statement why he did it.

The pay raise for three years will cost \$125,000 extra payroll money for Rothschild the next three years. Does he stand to lose \$125,000 cash for the privilege of signing a labor union contract? He says not.

"I did it for selfish reasons," he told a reporter. "I get more work from my people when they are satisfied. It pays to have workers satisfied. I pay more than the market rate for labor and in exchange their good will makes them give me more than an ordinary return of labor.

"There is no charity about what I have done. I run a business where it pays me to have all the good will and skill the workers are capable of."

He pointed out that tailors pressing trousers and coats are more liable to spoil goods if they are getting low wages and don't like the boss.

"My workers are handling stocks of value," said Rothschild. "It pays me to have them satisfied while handling the stock.

"I have no fear as to how the minimum wage will operate. Henry Ford began paying his men \$5 a day. It was called a rash experiment. But Ford found that his men worked harder and did better work than ever before.

"It's the same with Hart, Schaffner & Marx. Disaster was predicted for them when they signed the protocol.

"But with a 10 per cent raise in wages, Hart, Schaffner & Marx got 25 per cent more work from their employes."

Over 7,000 workers for Hart, Schaffner & Marx, the biggest men's clothes makers in the United States, have their labor prices fixed for the next three years. No matter what happens, their contract with their bosses says there shall be no raises in the price of labor.

Through their organization, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, these 7,000 workers have established a

minimum wage of \$9 a week for all women on machine work and \$8 a week for all other women workers. Minimum for men is \$12 for machine workers and \$10 for others.

These minimum wages are a lot better than those paid to unskilled workers in general in garment shops, department stores and factories, though, of course, a wage is not a wage until it's paid. It is yet to be shown that this minimum wage is not on paper but actually goes into the hands of the wage slaves who are to spend it.

Sounds good and looks good—this minimum wage. It's easily seen, however, that what is a minimum wage this year may not be a minimum wage three years from now. If the cost of living goes up 20 per cent the next three years, as it has done before in a three-year period, that will certainly be one cheap-looking fizzle of a minimum wage. What this ends with is the question: Why should any labor union sell the labor power of its members for so long a period as three years?

Each of the 30,000,000 wage earners of the United States loses on the average about nine days every year on account of sickness, according to U. S. Health Bulletin No. 76. Overwork and underpay are the chief causes of bad health, it is stated. "Adequate diet" is lacking among millions. Food prices are so high that underpaid workers don't have what they need to nourish their bodies.

These solemn declarations in a federal government bulletin corroborate all the terrible indictments of the ordinary citizen's life as compared to a soldier's life in the ads of the army recruiting offices.

If we want to prove this is a hell of a country to live in for a workingman, all we have to do is point to government reports.

Who and what is to blame?

Well, Francis Patrick Walsh, the Kansas City lawyer who headed the U. S. Industrial Relations Commission, says: "I hold labor responsible."

Righto!

Let labor organize and battle on the industrial field, using direct action, as well as on the political field in legislative action, and there would be more to eat.



STORIES OF THE CAVE PEOPLE

THE FIRST PRIEST

By MARY E. MARCY

ALTHOUGH Strong Arm, who was the wisest and strongest and swiftest man among the Cave People, had been dead, and in part eaten and in part buried beneath a great pile of earth and stones, the Cave People felt sure that he had not remained dead.

More than one of the members of the tribe had seen him fighting and hunting, eating and dancing, during the dreams that come in the night, and so they believed that a part of Strong Arm, the spirit or ghost part of Strong Arm, still lived. Again and again he had appeared to them in the spirit, or in dreams, to advise them about the things the tribe intended to do.

The Cave People were unable to understand these things and there was nobody to tell them that dreams were not of the world of reality. And so they believed that Strong Arm still lived, and that other dead men and women and children of the tribe still lived in the Spirit World. It was true that the spirits of these dead did not appear in the broad light of day, but the Cave People believed that they haunted their old grounds, invisible to the eyes of their tribesmen.

They believed that the spirits of the dead may return to befriend the members of the tribe, or to hinder their enemies, provided, always, that the members of the tribe enlisted their aid and their affections.

Now Big Foot, since there was no longer the wise voice of Strong Arm, nor the mighty strength of the old chief to enforce the good of his people, set himself to become the leader of the Cave People. He slashed his hairy thighs with his flint knife to prove how brave he was, allowing the gashes to become sores in order to prolong the evidence of his courage. He strutted about and waved his poison-tipped arrows when the young men refused to listen to his words. Also he rubbed the noses of all the women of the tribe and sought to caress them, attempting to drive the men of the tribe from the new nests, or caves or huts, which they had built in the far North country so many moon journeys from the old hollow where little Laughing Boy was born.

Big Foot boasted with a loud voice and bullied the children and spoke soft words to the women, while he glared at the young men and urged them into the forest to hunt for food. Always he kept his poisoned darts at his side and he managed to secure for himself the tenderest portion of the young goats which the people had discovered leaping and running wild amid the sharp slopes and crags of the mountains.

So the tribe grew weary of his sorry ruling and there was much fighting and discord, which laid them open to the attacks of their many enemies.

Without doubt Big Foot was possessed of much cunning, for while other men of the tribe were as strong of limb and as fleet of foot, Big Foot was more powerful than they. Longer was his arm because he had learned first how to make and to wield his great bow and arrows almost as well as young One Ear, who had escaped from the Arrow Throwers and returned to his own people, the Cave Dwellers, bringing knowledge of the weapons of these strange enemies.

The Cave Dwellers had paused in their journeyings and battlings northward, on the banks of the lake that shone like white fire when the sun beat down upon its rolling surface. The way was new to them and unknown dangers threatened everywhere and they had utmost need to walk warily, less a new tribe descend upon them with some new weapon of destruction and turn them back into the dangers they had outstripped.

Instead of holding the people together with wise words and instead of preparing to search out the lands to prepare for the strange evils that lie in wait for primitive man whenever he travels beyond the ways of his experience, Big Foot caused nothing but conflict. It was only his superior skill in the use of the flint-tipped arrows, which the Cave People were acquiring very rapidly, that prevented him from being slain by the members of the tribe.

Then it was that One Ear dreamed a dream. He thought that his spirit had journeyed far into the spirit world where it encountered the spirit of Strong Arm. And Strong Arm had spoken with One Ear, sending words of wisdom to the peo-

ple of the tribe. He had called Big Foot the enemy of the Cave People. And when he wakened in the morning, One Ear remembered his dream. So he gathered all the people together and told them these things. And no man or woman among them knew that he spoke only of a dream. They believed that the spirit of Strong Arm still lived and that the things in One Ear's dream had actually occurred.

So the Cave People chattered together and gesticulated and stole the fresh meat Big Foot had hidden in his cave and menaced him from cover by shaking their clubs and growling like angry dogs. Big Foot fled to his branch hut, where he glared at the members of the tribe and waved his long arrows.

The Cave People had long respected the words of Strong Arm and when they heard what he had spoken to One Ear in a dream, they hated Big Foot more fiercely than ever.

At last Big Foot returned to the people of the tribe, many of whom were sitting about a wood fire, and he spoke to them, trying to gain their good will and attempting to show them that none was so swift, so strong or so brave as he. But the people screamed "Strong Arm! Strong Arm!" to remind Big Foot that the old chief had spoken against him.

And Big Foot grew frantic with the rage that came upon him. He seized the club of Strong Arm which had been given to Laughing Boy in order that he might derive from it some of the virtue of bravery which his father, Strong Arm, had possessed. Big Foot spat upon it and crushed it beneath a great stone, when he hurled the shattered fragments far out into the green waters of the lake.

All the Cave People shivered with fear, for they thought this was a very foolish thing. They believed that the spirits of the dead grow angry when their weapons are broken or destroyed and they felt sure that the spirit of Strong Arm would punish Big Foot for the desecration he had worked on the club of the old chief.

But Big Foot was too angry to be afraid. White foam appeared upon his lips when he thought of the spirit of Strong Arm he longed for a tangible foe, with flesh upon his bones that he might crush, with red juice in his skin that he might spill, with ears and a nose that he might bite and twist and tear. He desired an enemy into



whose soft belly he might hurl one of his sharp arrows.

But there were only the Cave People beside him and the menace in their eyes and their lips, pulled back, snarling from their teeth, made him afraid. So he lifted up his voice in a frenzy of hate and scorn while he called the name of "Strong Arm! Strong Arm! Maker of lies;" he called him, and "Fool! Coward! Weak One! Baby!" and "Snake-that-crawls!" while he made violent gestures of hatred and disgust.

The Cave People watched him fearfully. To them it did not seem the part of wisdom to mock and defy the spirit of Strong Arm, which still lived, tho his body had perished. Something was bound to happen. Strong Arm had never permitted any man to speak thus of him when he was living in the flesh and they did not believe his spirit would endure insult from Big Foot. Indeed, yes, something was sure to happen.

But it was not good for the whole tribe to be punished or blamed for the foolishness of Big Foot. This they knew and they made haste to put wide distances between themselves and him, pursuing their own work or their own ends with much ostentation as far as possible removed from his presence. If the spirit of Strong Arm was hiding in the valley and had chanced to overhear the evil words of Big Foot, no flat-headed savage among the tribe wanted Strong Arm to fancy he had anything to do with these things. They washed their hands of the whole affair and departed from the immediate presence of Big Foot.

The more Big Foot raved, the oftener One Ear called upon the spirit of Strong Arm, crying:

"Brave one! Wise one! Swift of foot" and "Give us of thy counsel!" And the Cave People began talking in loud voices of the good deeds of their old chief, of his courage and strength, of his wisdom and his "Eye-that-never-slept."

While Big Foot defied the spirit of Strong Arm, One Ear and the Cave People sought to propitiate him with loud words of admiration and some flattery.

"Stronger than the hairy mastodon" they called him and "Father of all the lions." He could outleap the mountain goat and outclimb the longest armed ou-rang-oo-tang. His voice was like the thunder and his breath like the winds that bend the trees on the river banks.

They felt more certain than ever that

something was going to happen. They expected the spirit of Strong Arm to make it happen. But they did not desire to share in untoward events if a little information given to the spirit of Strong Arm could prevent this thing.

But the day passed, and the sun slid down the wings of the sky into the red fire of the lake, and still Big Foot strutted about with loud and boasting words. Still the Cave People waited and hoped, and were afraid.

And that night the spirit of Strong Arm again appeared to One Ear in a dream and his voice was fierce with anger against Big Foot and, in the dream, he counselled One Ear to tell the Cave People to push Big Foot from the tallest crag along the mountain gorge so that his body would be crushed upon the sharp stones below.

In the morning One Ear told these things to the people of the tribe and they drank the words of Strong Arm eagerly, begging Big Foot to join in a hunt for the wild goat amid the slopes of the mountain. But Big Foot was afraid and hid in his hut, making queer mouthings and snatching food from the children and waving his sharp arrows.

So the Cave People gathered about One Ear urging him to meet the spirit of Strong Arm once more and to ask for more wisdom on how to dispatch the evil man who brought dangers and conflict to the tribe.

Again in the morning One Ear called the people together, saying that the spirit of Strong Arm counselled the people to build fires about the hut of Big Foot in the night so that he might be destroyed.

And so, when darkness wrapped the valley in her soft folds, the Cave People stole from their shelters, each bearing branches and glowing coals from the camp fire, which they hurled in the door of Big Foot, with stones and spears so that he might not escape and injure the tribe.

The night was black and Big Foot was unable to hit the people with his sharp arrows. Coals were thrown upon the dry thatch of his hut and soon the flames encircled him with their burning tongues.

And when it was discovered that his body was burned to ashes and that the spirit of Big Foot had escaped, the Cave People rejoiced in their hearts. But their lips were dumb. For the first time they spoke well of Big Foot, whom they hated in their hearts. For was not the fate of Big Foot proof of the foolishness of speaking

ill of the dead! Was not the victory of the Cave People who had spoken well of Strong Arm proof of their wisdom in these things?

The Cave People believed the spirit of Big Foot would be actively inimical to the tribe, just as they believed that the spirit of Strong Arm had proved itself to be the friendly father of the people.

And One Ear continued to dream dreams, which he related to the Cave People, giving them words of wisdom and courage from the spirit of Strong Arm and evil words from the spirit of Big Foot. Thus they grew to believe wondrous things of Strong Arm. His virtues grew with the passing of the suns, just as his strength increased and his wisdom was extolled until he became almost a god to the people of the tribe.

And when ill befell the Cave People, One Ear told them it had been caused by the evil spirit of Big Foot and when they escaped from these evils, he reported how the spirit of Strong Arm had befriended the tribe. Always was One Ear dreaming dreams. He told how the spirit of Strong Arm had counselled the people to make of Big Nose their leader and chief, which they did.

As he grew in years and in power, One Ear demanded that the best joints of meat, the warmest place by the fire, the safest

cave or hut, be his portion. These things he declared were the commands of Strong Arm.

And so One Ear became a great man of the tribe. When the forest fire swept the plains and drove the wild fowl and the forest animals far inland, and brought famine to the Cave People, One Ear reported that the spirit of Strong Arm had done these things to punish the people because they had not brought young fowl, of which he was very fond, every day to One Ear.

Thus One Ear became the first priest of the tribe, protected before other men in order that the good spirits might not take vengeance upon the tribe should ill befall him. People brought him sharp knives and soft skins with which he made himself warm when the far northern winds blew cold in the winter time. And One Ear said good words to the great spirits for these bearers of gifts, so that they might be prospered and escape the sharp tooth of the crocodile.

By and by there came other dreamers of dreams who spoke with the great spirits and also brought messages to the people. Strong arms of the tribe clashed and there were great battles among the Cave People, till the Pretenders were slain, when once more peace and harmony reigned within the valley upon the shores of the great lake.



WHAT ABOUT THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY?

By W. J. L.

THE eight-hour movement for the Rail Slaves has been and is an important question right now. It can be viewed as being a vital issue with three factions of the people, i. e., the Employes, the Railroad Companies and the so-called Public; but the writer of this article is not involved in this movement. My sole interest is absolutely for *MY CLASS* only—"THE WORKING CLASS"—because it is our class that does all the useful work of the world; without us the world would perish. We make all the food, all the clothing, all the houses, construct and operate all the lines of transportation and communication on both land and water; in fact, it is we alone that are responsible for all human progress; therefore, it is no more than right that we should be the sole possessors, and enjoy that which we create. All others are parasites on society. They deserve no consideration and should be swept into oblivion.

But what about the eight-hour day and time and one-half for overtime that the Slaves of the Rail are asking for?

Judging from past history, and looking at everything as it has developed so far in the present movement, the Star of Hope does not shine any too bright for their immediate future.

This eight-hour movement has been looked forward to by thousands of these oppressed members of the Working Class, as an oasis in the desert to the weary traveler; but the workers are easily misled and have been for thousands of years. They have been educated to depend on leaders, instead of leading themselves; and there is every likelihood that history will again repeat itself. The long-expected has happened, according to press dispatches; the Big Chiefs of the four Brotherhoods, and the General Managers of the Railroads which met in Chicago on April 27th, decided to hold a *SERIES* of meetings in New York City, commencing in June, for the purpose of seeing if they could agree to ARBITRATION as being the means whereby to settle this controversy between the men and the Railroads. It seems that they (the men) did not get enough of the

ARBITRATION medicine the last time. They want to get "Gold-bricked" again; of course, it won't make any difference to the higher-ups whether the men win or lose; their smug jobs and fat salaries will continue just as long as the RANK and FILE can be fooled, and continue to remain in these crafts and pay big assessments.

However, if the men do get worsted in this skirmish, it may be for the better; who knows? It will be practical education for thousands of the RANK and FILE, and will start them to do their own thinking for the future. The ground will be better prepared to receive the propaganda seeds, of the real, true INDUSTRIAL UNION which is to come.

The only visible sign of progress in this present movement is the coming together of the four MAIN BROTHERHOODS in a Mass Movement, covering all the Railway lines throughout Canada and the United States, making their demand, or rather request, simultaneously, instead of separately, on individual systems, as heretofore; which indicates the trend toward INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM. But the Leaders are pursuing the same tactics as of old; juggling a lot of data and statistics, and trying to win the public sympathy, instead of organizing the men and conquering by economic power. What business is it of the public anyway?

It is OUR labor power we are selling, not theirs. There is only one way to win—take it—"MIGHT MAKES RIGHT."

Well! What is the use of saying anything more about the failures of Craft Unions and Brotherhoods? Let us be optimistic and look to the future. This has been discussed for years; thousands of the RANK and FILE of these Orthodox Organizations are dissatisfied, and are ready and willing to receive the message of their only hope—"REVOLUTIONARY INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM."

"THE ONE BIG UNION" is the only solution that will solve this Industrial warfare that is going to continue between the Masters and the Slaves until the Working Class organize as a *CLASS* and take possession of the Earth and all the machinery

of production and distribution, and for the first time in the history of the World, FREE THE HUMAN RACE.

The Capitalist system is based on the profit system. There can be no peace between the Capitalist Class and the Working Class as long as this system lasts; for it is to the interests of the Capitalists to pay their wage slaves as little as possible, and to get the highest efficiency of production; while it is to the interest of the worker to do as little as possible and get the highest wages they can. Therefore, this identity of interest between Master and Slave which the Capitalist Class and the Craft Unions teach, is a fallacy, pure and simple, and is only propagated for the purpose of more easily robbing the workers of the product of their toil.

It is this profit question, or rather the amount of the Workers' product that the Capitalist Class desire to rob them of, that is the cause of all this contention. The Capitalists and the Craft Unions say, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work." Who is to decide what is a fair day's work for a fair day's wage? So far it has never been settled. They are trying to solve it in different ways, i. e., by Arbitration, Strikes, Lockouts, Policemen's Clubs, Bayonets and Bullets; but it is not settled yet.

"THE ONE BIG UNION" is coming to teach the workers to organize as a CLASS,

regardless of Race, Creed, Nationality or Sex, and that their only enemy is the class that rob them at the point of production—THE CAPITALIST CLASS—whether domestic or foreign.

This Union is going to organize the Workers of the World on a Class-Conscious Revolutionary basis; not merely for the purpose of gaining or securing a few demands as a temporary palliative for our economic ills, but to destroy the Capitalist system, which is the root of all this struggle between the two classes—the Workers and their Masters—and in its place establish the Industrial Democracy where work and worth will go hand in hand and LABOR will reap its full reward.

Fellow Railroad Workers, consider this matter wisely and help organize for the best interest of your Class. The Capitalist Class want to perpetuate the Craft Union and destroy the Industrial Union. That alone should be sufficient reason for you to join the "ONE BIG UNION," because if the O. B. U. is against his interests, it must stand for yours; so don't be a coward, because the new movement is not popular—IT WON'T NEED YOU WHEN IT IS—DO IT NOW. Agitate—Educate—Organize.

You have nothing to lose but your CHAINS. You have a WORLD to GAIN.

FIIFTY Mexicans were brought in to the Illinois Malleable Iron Works, 1801 Diversey Parkway, Chicago, in April, to take the places of citizens of the republic of the United States who were on strike.

If there's got to be war between greasers and gringoes, why not start it in a case like this rather than down on the Rio Grande where the Hearst-Otis-Rockefeller combination wants a war?



MELBOURNE BRANCH OF THE AUSTRALASIAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

Australia and the Political Power of Its Working Class

By JESSIE MACDONALD

WORKERS who think economic conditions better in Australia than in America would be disillusioned quickly on arrival in Australia. Capitalism exploits the wage slave class here as in older countries.

It is true that trusts have not such a grip on the industries of Australia; and machinery, not yet developed as in America, does not compel speeding up and efficiency of wage slaves to the same cruel and inhuman extent as in the land of Rockefeller, J. P. Morgan and other big capitalists, representing the trusts of America.

An eclipse of the sun or moon is gradual; the shadow of the eclipsing body creeps slowly, but surely. So with capitalism in Australia. Its evil power is developing slowly, but surely. It is sixteen years since the five states of Australia and the island of Tasmania federated into the Commonwealth of Australia. New Zealand, two lonely islands in the South Pacific, some 1,749 miles southeast of Australia, declined for commercial reasons to come into

the Federation, and is itself a Dominion of the British Empire. Both countries have universal suffrage; but the working class are no better off with their political power than without it. The reason is obvious: Capitalism governs, and *not* the working class.

The latter, when class conscious, are antimilitarian, but since August 4, 1914, the labor governments of the states and the Federated Labor Government have been the obedient servants of the British parliament in raising 300,000 men for service in Europe.

It was a Federal labor government in 1912, two years before the present war was declared, that brought in the infamous and undemocratic conscription act, going one better than the conscript countries of Europe, in compelling boys from 14 to 18 years to train for military service.

Adult males up to the age of 45 are liable to conscription in defense of the commonwealth on invasion of the country by "an enemy force." Although men and women

have political power, the majority were too indifferent to protest during the period when the conscription act was being debated in the Federal parliament. After it was passed, and mere children were compelled to attend drill, parents, Socialists, and anti-conscriptionists made a stir, but too late.

A pamphlet, "The Crime of Conscription," written by Harry Holland, a one-time editor of *THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST*, dealt with the clauses of this act, and showed the working class how members they had elected to the Federal parliament had betrayed them. So much for political action and votes for women.

As a matter of fact, Australia, tho nominally self governing, is merely a pawn in the game played by Britain against her commercial enemies. Capitalists move the pieces in the international game of chess.

At the present moment the alleged Labor Prime Minister of Australia is playing the part of White Knight. From umbrella maker and president of the Waterside Workers' Union, "little Billy" has become a statesman flattered by the capitalist press of Australia, which erstwhile gave him the icy eye. Now it extends the glad hand and it would need a stronger mind than his to withstand the fulsome flattery poured over him on his visit to London as the capitalists' representative of Australia.

The king has received him at Buckingham Palace, he has interviewed and been interviewed by capitalists' representatives; he has visited his old school in London and admonished the wondering, wide-eyed school children to be good and tell "as few lies as possible," advice discounted by the fact that as the representative of the Australian people of both classes, his whole triumphal tour in England is a series of Gargantuan lies and misrepresentations.

He represents the capitalist class all the time. He has done with the working class who put him into the Federal parliament, and betrayed them shamefully.

One hardly recognizes in this Australian Prime Minister the energetic soap boxer, who, on Sunday afternoons in the Sydney domain used his gift of satire, his knowledge of Bible texts and his native vigorous criticism against the master class.

As the representative of capitalism, William now quotes scripture against Socialists and the I. W. W. Prior to his depart-

ure for London he referred to these working class organizations as "swine" who should have devils cast out of them. He is now a splendid jingo and brilliant recruiting agent. The working class, who elected him to the Federal parliament fairly gasped on reading what he said to a gathering of the master class prior to his departure for Canada and London. As Socialists and the I. W. W. have been jailed for public protests against child conscription and recruiting of men for slaughter on the battlefields of Europe, this Labor (?) Prime Minister's utterance reads strangely.

He said: "To Australia the war has a terrible significance. On its outcome depends our continuance as a free and liberty loving people or the inauguration of an existence as a subjugated, conquered and military oppressed people. Australia, this grand country of ours, is one of the stakes in the game. Nay, it is the greatest stake, for if the Allies lose we immediately become a province of Prussia and all our religious, social and political ideals which we have industriously built up will vanish as a dream and we will pass under the iron heel of Prussian militarism."

The absurdity of this hot air is shown in the actual policy of the conscription now in Australia.

Much has been made of the number of men who volunteered for service in Egypt and the ill-fated Gallipoli expedition.

But the capitalist press in Australia and abroad say nothing of men being dismissed from factories and workshops and compelled to join the expeditionary forces to avoid starvation of themselves, their wives and children. One example will show the state of the labor market in this country of universal political suffrage.

Representatives from the Trades Hall (Melbourne) waited on the Federal treasurer in regard to the action of the state government in dismissing about 1,500 workers from the railway department, but their requests for financial assistance to be given by the state, in order that these men might be reinstated, have met with expressions of sympathy, but nothing more tangible. A third deputation waited on the Labor Minister, who promised to bring the representations of the deputation under the notice of the cabinet, and to ask his colleagues to deal with the unemployment problem as a whole.

In the meantime the cost of living has increased enormously. At the Commonwealth Arbitration Court a capitalist judge said, "This is the first time the court has been asked to fix the living wage of a clerk. Any married clerk who lived on the same regimen in 1915 as he did before the war would find it very difficult to make ends meet on ten shillings (about two dollars and fifty cents) a day.

"No one who is not extravagant lives in these days just as he did before the war. A saving can be effected in many cases by following the king—no alcoholic liquor during the war. Our brave soldiers and our Allies are fighting for us on low wages, hard conditions, poor food, long hours, offering life itself if necessary.

"Money is needed for the war and to help those who fight for us, and it is not too much to expect those who cannot or will not enlist to put up some sacrifices."

The judge himself gets a fat salary for telling a union of clerks this sort of stuff, but his description of the conditions of our brave soldiers is equally true of wage slaves the world over—low wages, long hours, bad conditions, and often sacrifice of life itself.

In this land of political freedom of the proletariat Socialists have been jailed for advising their own class not to enlist for foreign service, editors of militant labor papers threatened with fine and imprison-

ment for hindering recruiting, and the Federal postoffice has even held up bundles of Socialist newspapers and magazines. The dope of patriotism is preached to working class children in the state schools, and they are compelled to salute the flag of capitalism once a week. Their young minds are chloroformed with just what the capitalists holding Australia in pawn want the future wage slaves to learn and to know.

Science and economics are not taught to working class children and the dope of religion is administered to them. Organized religious bodies, like the Y. M. C. A. and the Salvation Army, have only to ask and thousands of dollars are poured into their funds. Added to all this the Roman Catholic Church is spreading its octopus-like tentacles over Australia, building convents, schools, churches, and a university college at an alarming rate.

Under all these conditions, is it surprising that the working class in Australia is no better off than elsewhere?

To the optimist, however, it is satisfactory to know that even in Australia the truths of Socialism are spreading, though slowly. Socialists have no doubt that their propaganda will gain in strength after the subsidence of the war fever and when peace is declared. In the meantime even in so-called democratic Australia, Socialists have a big and a tough fight in endeavoring to overthrow capitalism.

EVERYBODY in Illinois takes the state board of arbitration for a joke. Lately the board has issued a report which shows that the board takes itself as a good deal of joke. A press forecast signed by its secretary has this one:

"Referring to compulsory arbitration as a means of settling labor disputes, while the report says it has many advocates, it is also pointed out that the best thought along this line does not conclude this to be the solution, as cases can be cited where strikes of a serious nature have taken place in countries which have a 'Compulsory Arbitration' law, and that as a means of maintaining industrial peace, they have not proven satisfactory."

All right in every way except that it won't work—hey?

THE PRODUCTIVITY OF LABOR

By L. H. M.

PEOPLE to whom we say that the work of the world can all be done in four hours a day, if all able-bodied adults perform a useful service in society, have laughed at us in the past. They have said this was impossible and we had no way to prove our theory.

We argued and explained and told them how much wasteful labor was performed in society as organized today. We pointed to ten grocery stores and ten dry goods stores where only one of each was actually needed.

We counted up the numbers of lawyers and advertising workers, the preachers and useless printers and advertising specialists, the middle-men and brokers, who only force themselves between the productive workers and the retail men, who exhibit wares to those who buy shoes and clothes and furniture, hats, etc., etc. We contended that nearly all of these millions of people were an unnecessary expense to society and could be better used in productive labor or in performing some useful and necessary service.

No matter how well we argued, even some workingmen and women themselves always replied that "it could not be done," that "it never had been done" and that we were crazy to suppose all the feeding, clothing, warming and sheltering of the people of the earth could be accomplished in four hours work a day by all healthy adults working at useful toil.

This was last year. Then we were unable to prove our theories. Our opponents had the best of us when they said "it had never been done." Today we show them that it is being done and that our arguments have become fact, have been proved by the most advanced nations of the earth—are being proved over and over again every day.

Read these figures, facts and proofs and rub them in the noses of any square head, who, in future says the working class has to sweat in factories, mines and mills eight and nine and ten hours a day as it does now.

The population of Germany before the war was 65,000,000 people, about half of

whom were children, youths and girls too young to work, old men and women beyond the age of working ability, and physical incapables. That is, probably about half of the actual German population was engaged in production and distribution and useful service before the war.

Out of this group of 32,500,000 capable men and women, at least 6,500,000 were called to arms during the present war, while an equal number have devoted their entire time and energies to feeding, clothing (and nursing the wounded of) this group, in manufacturing trucks, automobiles, Zeppelins, aeroplanes, ammunition, battleships, submarines and the "munitions" of war. Thirteen millions of the very cream of German industrial male life has been utterly removed from constructive industry; two-fifths of the entire German workable population, including the women, have been removed from all useful labor in the fatherland—the best men, the strong men, the young men—13,000,000 of them thrown into vast machines of destruction, while the three-fifths, or 19,500,000 remaining workers, most of whom are women, are feeding, clothing, and taking care of the German people.

Out of the five-tenths of the German people who are capable of working and fighting, two are now engaged in war and in providing for those engaged in war and the manufacture of munitions. Three are now running the great German nation, are become the mainstay of 65,000,000 German people.

(Incidentally it occurs to me that this would be a glorious time for that three-tenths to go on a general strike, but we will discuss that in another number.)

Now we need to remember that these 19,500,000 workers, who are supporting Germany today are not SKILLED workers, are not, in most cases, even *experienced* workers. Many of them are the wives who have been forced from their homes and thrust into a job by the government, after some slight instruction.

The workers who are maintaining Germany today are the least capable, the weak-

est, the least skilled 13,000,000 of the 35,000,000 available working men and women who were in Germany before the beginning of the war.

These people are working under great handicap. They are producing cloth with new machinery, from new raw materials. They are using new materials to make oil, and other food stuffs, substituting strange menus from stranger products. During war times when nations lack some of the raw materials with which commodities were produced in times of peace, new methods have to be invented and devised to meet the demands and necessities, new machinery has to be made and new systems learned.

Every one knows that mothers are an uncertain element in industry. For purely physical reasons, child-bearing women are less stable in the factory and mill than are men. There are bound to be periods when it is humanly impossible for them to work.

And in Germany, as well as in France, today the work of these nations is being done chiefly by the women, who form a large portion of the productive three-tenths.

Before the war the population of France was estimated at about 40,000,000. About ten per cent, or 4,000,000, were called to arms, while approximately an equal number have been engaged in feeding and clothing these men and in supplying them with arms, guns and ammunition, so that the percentage of workers in France, who are become the mainstay of France, who feed and clothe and house the French nation, is about the same as it is in Germany.

Now, nearly all of these workers are unskilled, inexperienced, uncertain. They are laboring under the greatest difficulties. In France, which has been invaded by the German armies, they have been compelled to build new factories, plant new fields, institute a hundred new methods of production. In Germany, owing to the embargo placed upon goods formerly shipped into this country; they have been compelled to build new plants for making new products.

And in spite of all these handicaps, these new methods of production, these new experiments, three-tenths of the entire population of these two modern countries are supporting these countries.

THE TOOLS OF PRODUCTION.

All of this goes to prove the old Socialist theory that the tools of production are the world's great history-makers, that the progress of mankind depends almost wholly upon the tools man uses in supplying his necessities.

Only modern industry with factory, mill, and shop production, could liberate men from their tools so that they could be spared to wage this gigantic war. Only modern machinery could make possible the support of nations with such large armies in the field, because *labor has become so enormously productive*, by the use of modern machinery in the productive processes, that a relatively small percentage of the population can now feed and clothe a whole nation, almost *indefinitely*.

Not only that, but in the decade preceding this war the greatest minds in both these countries, particularly in Germany, have been engaged on the problems of how best to *destroy*, to *kill* and *murder* the enemies across the border, rather than on how to lighten the burdens of those who work. These minds have been occupied in the invention and the preparation of instruments of havoc; they have sought to gain the greatest amount of murder and destruction with the least possible element of human effort in order to spare their soldiers.

They have produced *labor-saving* devices to build trenches, to load trains, to load and discharge guns, to erect fortifications, instead of producing *labor-saving* machinery to shorten the hours of the workers who *produce* food to feed, clothing to cover, houses to shelter the people of these nations.

Some effort has been spent on machine or factory improvements in industry to lower the *cost* of production, but the most brilliant men, the men most profitably rewarded, most honored in both France and in Germany, have been those who invented and manufactured *labor-saving killing-machines* for use in war time. All scientific knowledge has been subordinated to militarism.

During the war the labors of the workers have also been augmented by a large number of men being employed in supervising the distribution of foods, clothing, coal, etc. A vast national bookkeeping supervision and guarding of provisions has

arisen, with its vast army of official distributors. And all the people so employed are unable to form a part of the producing population already so overburdened.

Clergymen and college professors and magazine editors are proclaiming that the war cannot go on, that it is humanly impossible for the warring nations to support such vast armies in the field. Our answer is that the war *is* going on and may continue to last for years because modern industry, with its gigantic machines, has so increased the productivity of labor that *a quarter of the population can support the nations in war!*

This is a situation fraught with importance. After the war is over the capitalists of England, France, Belgium, Austria and Germany are going to intensify the exploitation of labor in order to meet the war debts. Bigger machines, more automatic machines will be used in mills and factories in order to eliminate the cost of human labor. Within a few years the productivity of labor will increase by leaps and bounds. One man will be able to support twenty men by the use of modern machine production. More men will be liberated from the factory, land, mill and mine. Will the workers become enslaved by toil while those unable to secure jobs starve or become soldiers?

Capitalists will find themselves driven to the last extremity to perpetuate Capitalism—the Profit System. Their workers will continue to increase the surplus products (which they need but have not wages enough to buy); capitalists will be compelled to improve their methods of production to meet the competition of capitalists in France, England or Germany. And these new methods mean less labor for more products.

Where are the capitalists going to sell these streams of products? The working

class will have less and less money to buy them.

Without doubt the capitalist class of the modern nations will demand enormous armies and navies to gain new territory, new markets, new places in which to sell the commodities the workers are pouring forth. This will utilize a part of the workers no longer needed in industry. It will mean war upon war, with the workers used as mere pawns in the struggle their masters *will be driven to wage if they are to hold the markets in which to sell commodities and to gain new ones for the increased wealth the workers will be producing.*

They will try to prolong, may even succeed in prolonging capitalism by keeping a large portion of the working class of one nation at war with the working class of another nation.

One worker under "favorable" conditions now probably produces enough to support half a dozen people. Under the new national capitalist competition, he will, by the use of improved machinery and new methods of production, be able to produce enough to support a dozen or even a score. This means that the day is past when men and women need to slave to feed and clothe themselves.

We believe that the proportion of productive workers is going to decrease enormously in the next few years. More and more people will be of that class which lives off the workers.

Now is the time to strike. The capitalist classes are at war with each other. The workers are waging this war for them. The workers will be asked to wage the next war, and the next. We must show the workers what Militarism and Imperialism mean. We must organize them to arise, as the people have arisen in the past, to demand that these wars cease—to demand and take the world for the workers.



THE BROOM CORN INDUSTRY

By W. W. PANELL

A COMPARATIVELY few years ago, and for centuries antedating, brooms were made of the branches of trees, shrubbery of various kinds and even certain kinds of weeds bound together on long poles. The cave man probably used the same kind of a broom to sweep the cob-webs out of his cave that the peasants of Europe used a few years ago, and still use to some extent. However, the last few years has seen wonderful development in the production of the common broom. At first manufactured of any kind of material that came ready to hand, the broom has become a commercial product and is now manufactured exclusively as a product of the broom corn plant.

Broom corn, from which staple is manufactured the common broom of commerce, is grown extensively in Kansas, Oklahoma, Illinois and other states of the Southwest and Middle West. It is one of the family of sorghums, which also includes kaffir, milo, etc., and is grown exclusively for the "brush" that shoots out at the top of the stalk corresponding to the "head" of kaffir or milo. Two varieties are grown, the standard and dwarf, each of which requires a slightly different method of harvesting.

The methods of planting and cultivating broom corn are principally the same as with the other members of the sorghum family. The seed is planted in rows about three feet and a half apart to admit

of cultivation by machinery. The cultivation being the same as with Indian corn and other staple crops grown in rows.

The harvesting stage is the most important one in the production of the broom corn crop and upon the success of the time and methods of harvesting depend a large part of the price the farmer will get for his product. If the brush is harvested too green it does not have a firm "handle" or "color," as the broom corn experts say, and if it gets too ripe it turns "red" or "rusts" thereby depreciating in monetary value. The ideal is a "brush" that is ripe enough to be firm and have a strong "handle," yet minus the "red" or rust color that accompanies the over ripe condition. Therefore harvesting is usually staged when the broom corn has reached the desirable degree of ripeness, and at the this time the farmers hire all the labor they can get for a few days in order that the work of harvesting may be carried on as expeditiously as possible.

Dwarf broom corn is harvested by "pulling" or "jerking." To do this the "brush" is grasped in one hand and the top leaf or "boot" in the other and the "brush" extracted by pulling outward and downward. The "brush" is then laid on the ground, or on broom corn stalks broken down for that purpose, being later loaded on wagons and hauled out of the

field. The methods of harvesting standard broom corn are similar to those employed in harvesting the dwarf variety, with the exception that the stalks must be "cut" or "broke," this being necessary on account of its great height and because of other characteristics.

There are two methods of "curing" broom corn and getting it ready for market. Either it is hauled out of the field immediately after it is "pulled" and "shedded," or it is allowed to remain in the field until dry enough to "rick." The first method is called "shed curing"; the latter "field curing." The sheds are merely roofs under which the broom corn is laid in tiers on "poles" placed in the shed for that purpose. This allows the air to freely circulate through the broom corn, "curing" it without "weathering." The most up-to-date farmers follow the "shed method" of curing broom corn and the prices of "shed cured" broom corn are higher than those on "field cured."

The prevailing method of marketing broom corn is to sell to traveling representatives of factories or wholesale broom supply houses at a fixed price per ton for "brush" to be delivered at the nearest railway station. Numerous co-operative organizations have been formed to deal direct with the manufacturers; however, the greater percent of the broom corn is still marketed through the middleman. In the future "direct selling" may revolutionize the entire broom corn market, but at present direct selling is the exception and not the rule.

The prices paid for broom corn are based on a certain market standard which is known to broom corn planters and buyers as "the demands of the market." The "demand of the market" is a medium sized brush of a greenish color, such as is used in the common household broom. Of course, whisk brooms and brushes of various kinds are manufactured of different qualities of broom corn and often sell comparatively higher than the standard broom; but as long as the manufacturer controls the broom corn market, the farmer will find it profitable to produce the article upon which the manufacturers base their market prices.

No article on the broom corn industry

would be complete without mention of the great army of migratory "broom corn pullers" that depend on this industry for a livelihood. They are the same class of "down-and-outs" as the wheat harvesters, cotton pickers, etc. Unorganized, they accept whatever wages the farmers will pay them and although the farmer is exploited unmercifully by the banker-merchant-landlord class, for a great many of the broom corn farmers are renters, he in turn acts as a petty "lord" over the "broom corn pullers."

Organization is one of the strongest weapons that the broom corn farmer can use in his own behalf. Fragmentary co-operative organizations have already shown the advantage of co-operative over competitive efforts in the marketing of farm products and hundreds of new organizations are being organized in the Southwest. With a federated organization of sufficient latitude to embrace the entire broom corn industry and control its products, the farmer will be enabled to receive at least a larger share than at present, of the profits accruing from the sale of the manufactured products of the broom corn plant.

As for the migratory worker, whom we are just now considering as a "broom corn puller," organization is also the weapon that will enable him to wrest from the farmer a part of the profits that will be the results of collective marketing.





EDITORIAL

The Time to Strike Is Now

Not for many years have capitalists been so anxious to cut out quibbling with the working class in America, and get down to *production and profits* for the owning class.

The New York *Call* declares that there are two hundred thousand people on strike in New York. The binder twine workers, and the garment workers, the machinists, the waiters and men and women in a score of other Chicago industries, are out on strike, or going to walk out.

Mr. Armour, of packing house fame, is reported to have said in the Chicago *Tribune* that only a few of his packing house employees had struck for higher wages. He also declared that certain Chicago manufacturers were paying 10 cents an hour to unemployed workingmen who would call and wait at their plants on the chance of being needed to go to work. Think of it! Instead of workingmen waiting anxiously to apply for jobs, they are now actually being paid good money to be on hand in the event that they may be wanted!

Mr. Armour complained bitterly that under such conditions it was no wonder that men and women were striking for higher wages. He seemed to feel that this was a great wrong done to the packing house owners.

A well-known New York comrade assures us that the new manufacturers of war munitions refused to erect new plants for making these goods until the English and French governments came across with the actual cash to pay for the erection of their new factories and plants. Before they would agree to make the machinery and munitions of war they had to receive a present of the most modern and perfected plants free of all value received, by France and England.

These munition manufacturers are piling up profits as they have not done in many years. They are frenziedly trying to increase their output and thereby their profits. They are offering an unprecedented price (or wage) for the labor power of the worker.

The United States, as a result of the war in Europe, is today enjoying a most prosperous period. Employers of labor are "voluntarily" raising wages—in order to prevent their employees from leaving to get higher wages elsewhere. They are evincing an unusual eagerness to listen to and discuss and rectify the "wrongs" of the workers—in order to keep them working—and producing profits for the employers.

The railroad corporations are spending thousands upon thousands of dollars trying to influence the railroad men and the "public" into believing that they cannot give the men who haul the trains and *run* the roads a raise in wages and keep on paying their usual dividends (on watered stock) while all the time they are trembling inwardly for fear the men will stop running the trains, go home, fold their arms and demand an eight-hour day and higher wages.

And the railroad men are shivering and discussing and wondering whether they shall accept what their bosses decide to give them or whether to risk a strike—just as some other timid union men are wondering whether they dare demand something from those who exploit them.

THEY NEED YOU NOW

If you workers will just stop and consider for a moment, you will realize that today your masters desire and need your labor power more than they have done for many years. By employing you, your

bosses are able today to make ten per cent, fifty per cent and one or two hundred per cent profits where they made five, ten or twenty per cent two years ago. They are piling up wealth in unheard-of quantities today, but they do not want to yield the workers a cent more for producing this wealth.

But the employing class needs your labor power to make these enormous profits. They *must* have you in order to take advantage of the war needs of Europe. There are not, for the first time in twenty years, enough workingmen and women to go around in the capitalist plants and mills and factories.

The employers are bidding against each other to secure *your labor power*. This is *your chance*. Now, while the employers see great and unheard-of opportunities to make big profits, is your opportunity to better your *fighting organizations*. The bosses will hire anybody today. You may even speak out in meeting and talk organization and actually organize yourselves into a real *working class fighting industrial union* with less opposition, less self-sacrifice today than you may ever have an opportunity to do again.

Now is the time to organize and to organize into industrial unions, to throw down the barriers between the crafts and get together in unions of your whole industry. *Now* is the time to get all your fellow-workers in the union. *Now* is the time to join your comrades, hand your demands to the boss, go home and take a vacation. You don't have to throw bricks this time. You don't need to struggle with the police this time. Just appoint one of your members to write to the "short-handed" factories that are running day and night trying to fill orders and ask them what they will pay you per week.

If your bosses won't stand for a real union, go some place else and get a better job and organize there. If they hear you, and your fellow-workers, are going to work for somebody else, they will grant your demands so quick that it will surprise you.

They have an opportunity *today* to make double profits, provided *you* will keep on working. Why not shorten your work day when they need you so badly that they will lose these profits if you go on strike?

Organize your *industrial union* and submit your demands and take a vacation till they are granted you. And *perfect your organization* to carry on the class struggle to abolish the profit system.

The Chicago milk wagon drivers went out on strike one morning in April and before noon the big milk companies had given them all they asked for because they knew the men could get jobs somewhere else.

This is the "good time" before the deluge that is going to follow the war. You can organize now to hold your own and to gain in strength in the future.

Now is the time to perfect a real fighting working class organization!

Socialism and War

By LOUIS B. BOUDIN

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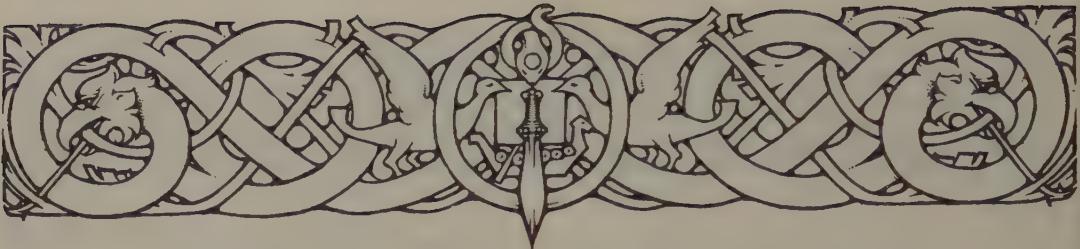
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INTERNATIONAL NOTES

BY WILLIAM E. BOHN

The New Socialist Group in the Reichstag.—March 24, 1916, may prove to be one of the big days in the history of German socialism. It was a great day when the Marxians and Lasalleans came together nearly fifty years ago. Since then a split has seemed out of the question. When Karl Liebknecht was in this country he laughed at the suggestion. And there is even now no division in the party organization. There cannot be, without the action of a party congress. But there are now two socialist groups in the Reichstag, and a division of the party seems certain. Strange to say, this prospect is hailed with relief by the majority of both factions. It was on March 24 that the two groups parted company.

On this great occasion it was Haase who spoke for the revolution. The vote was to be taken on a preliminary plan for a new war budget. Scheidemann announced that the Socialists would vote yes. There was evidence of discord in the socialist group. Finally Haase arose and said that he and a group of his friends would vote no. Great consternation everywhere! As Haase went on to give his reasons he was interrupted with epithets and protests.

His argument was to the effect that the government is a class government in war as it was in peace—therefore, a Socialist cannot support it. This argument, so far as the astonished majority permitted it to proceed, was a perfectly simple statement of well known facts. The poor have suffered every privation, said Haase in effect, and you have not provided relief.

Freedom of speech has not been restored, though you have promised it. The labor unions are prevented from carrying on their work. In many ways you have refused to recognize the equality of classes before the law.

Your war policy is plunging Europe into poverty. Even now, if the war is concluded, we shall have to labor four months out of each year to pay the interest on the public debt. Thus far the German army maintains its advantage. The German government may well take the first step in the direction of peace. But you refuse to call a halt. We Socialists detest war, and we demand peace. If this war were fought honestly in defense of the empire, as you pretend, it would have ended before this. "For the workers, it is the most terrible tragedy that they are forced to bear arms against those to whom they are linked by a great, common ideal."

At this point an opponent cried, "We do not want to hear this speech!"

"You do not want to hear the truth," continued Haase. "Nevertheless, you can not deny that which has been long recognized among capitalists who are not the beneficiaries of the war, that this struggle is based on a delusion. It is clear that none but fools or knaves can hope for world domination."

Soon after these words were uttered the bold orator was forced to leave the speaker's stand. But he had already said the essential things, the things which should have been said, in another form, to be sure, on August 4, 1914.

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Scheidemann then arose to express his surprise and to renew his pledge of patriotism for the majority of socialist deputies. Otto Ruhle then declared, for himself and Liebknecht, that they maintain the principle, "For this system, not a man, not a penny."

When the vote was taken twenty men voted no and fourteen withdrew. Those who had the courage to rebel openly against party discipline and stand up to be counted in the negative were: Liebknecht, Ruhle, Bernstein, Bock, Büchner, Cohn, Dittman, Geyer, Haase, Henke, Herzfeld, Horn, Kunert, Sedeborn, Schwarz, Stadthazen, Stolle, Vogtherr, Sturm and Imbeil.

After the session of the Reichstag the Socialists held a caucus, the last one of the famous 110. By a vote of 58 to 33, with four abstentions, Haase and his supporters were expelled from the group. Immediately 18 of these met and formed a new group, the *Socialist Labor Association*. Ruhle and Liebknecht do not belong to this organization. The former, it seems, is definitely and consistently opposed to all war; the latter holds that the present war has been from the beginning a war of conquest on the part of Germany and that it could have been prevented by the German government. The 14 deputies who withdrew at the time of the vote issued a statement in which they explained that they are one with the 20 in principle, but that they feel obliged to yield to party discipline.

Since the end of that stirring day in March the outlines of the situation have become quite clear. The party executive committee, by a large majority, denounced the action of the 20 and did all that it could to read them out of the party. *Vorwaerts*, in a splendid editorial, came to their defense. In the opinion of the official organ, what has happened has been inevitable for months past. Nothing but good, it seems to the editor, can come from the clearing of the atmosphere.

Bernstein, in an article in *Vorwaerts*, takes up the reproach that the Socialist rebels are aiding the enemy. "In the other countries," he says, "there are capitalists and proletarians." The former will not, in the long run, be pleased by Haase's

speech. It is the proletarian-democratic hosts who will hail it with joy." He then goes on to develop a line of thought which will be of great interest to American socialists. He tells of the tour of Comrade Kollantay through this country. German-American Socialists, he says, cannot be accused of sympathy with the Allies. Their vigorous peace propaganda frees them from any suspicion of this sort. And among these, wherever she went, Comrade Kollantay found that Karl Liebknecht was regarded as the hero of the war and the representative of socialism as it was known before August 4, 1914. These American Socialists of German birth, thinks Bernstein, furnish the best proof that Liebknecht, Haase and the rest of the 20 are in the right. I hope that many of our German-speaking comrades may learn of the fact that their opinions and activities have given support to the real Socialists of Germany during these trying times.



KARL LIEBKNECHT

The Strike on the Clyde—One cannot help wondering if a German submarine has not torpedoed the official English sense of humor. Lloyd-George and his helpers have flattered the Scotch munition workers, and scolded them. At one moment these men have been worthless wasters, at another the fate of the country has depended upon them. In the midst of the excitement long agreements have been signed by men and employers. But the scolding, the flattery and the agreements, all together, are not able to maintain a state of calm for more than a few days together.

The men can't get a raise in wages, tho the fate of the country depends on them, and employers break the agreement when they have a mind. REVIEW readers will remember how David Kirkwood spoke up for the men of the Parkhead works, Glasgow. An agreement was drawn up and signed. The process of dilution was to be carried on carefully, according to rule. The outspoken Mr. Kirkwood, as chairman of the shop stewards, had been in the habit of looking into complaints in all departments. In some department not his own there was a complaint. He investigated and made a protest. The employers forbade him to go outside his own department. The men got excited. Several hundred of them met and, entirely of their own accord, went out on strike. They knew they were acting contrary to the provisions of the Defense of the Realm Act. Immediately Mr. Kirkwood and half a dozen other shop stewards were "deported." That is, they were sent to other cities and set down to shift for themselves. Naturally they had great difficulty in finding anyone who would hire them. There is a strong suspicion that they are being boycotted.

This was at the end of March. The leaders advised the men to go back and they did so. Their grievances are to be taken up by a commission. In the meantime, a large number of Glasgow workers were demanding an increase in wages in order that they might keep up with the high cost of living. The Productions Commission gave some of them such a small increase that the whole affair was turned into a cruel joke. On March 31

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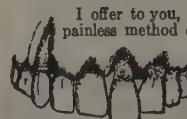
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a large mass meeting was held on Glasgow Green and on April 16 another one.

And so the tale goes on. The war has not brought the classes nearer to an understanding. The men's side of the news is suppressed, but events go to show that a deep sense of bitterness is growing deeper all the time. And yet the same sort of patriotic talk is kept up. If the country is such a grand one to fight for and the rulers are so eager for mutual understanding, the men would like some proof now and then. It all reminds one forcibly of Haase's speech of March 24. The workers of Essen ought to be able to understand the situation of those on the Clyde—even if Lloyd-George is unable to do so.

A British Socialist Split?—On April 24 the cable brought the news that the Easter conference of the British Socialists had resulted in a division. The meeting took place at Salford, and, according to the published story, thirty delegates withdrew to Manchester and held a conference of their own. These thirty were evidently the war Socialists. They are said to have issued a statement to the effect that their rebellion is due to "a pernicious national pacifism" in the party.

Trouble of this sort has been brewing in the B. S. P. since the beginning of the war. *Justice*, the official organ, has been pro-war and anti-German. The majority of the members have evidently been in favor of the hitherto accepted policy of opposition to capitalism and war. The antagonism within the party has grown increasingly bitter. Now, apparently, it has resulted in a division. Taken in conjunction with what has occurred in Germany, this event is very significant.

French and German Socialists.—The National Committee of the French Socialist party has just decided to stand by the decision of the annual congress against participation in a meeting of the International Socialist Bureau. This decision is based on the conviction that they cannot meet the German war Socialists as comrades.

About the same time that the decision was reached *l'Humanité* published an editorial of greeting to the German Socialist

minority. This action shows clearly in what form the chief problem of the third international will present itself. When the war is over the French, the English, the Italians and the Russians will oppose the admission of Scheidemann and his friends into the international body. If there is at that time a separate body in Germany made up of Socialists the problem will be greatly simplified.

The Irish Revolt.—If it is true that the Irish may be expected to revolt once in every generation, they could have found no time more favorable than the present. They had, a few weeks ago, as good a military organization as they can expect to build up, England was at war, and the Germans offered help. So if an Irish revolt is ever justified by mere prospect of favorable conditions, this one just put down may be said to have been justified.

For just one week, April 25 to May 1, there was a grand fight in Dublin. Seven leaders issued an eloquent Proclamation of the Irish Republic in the name of the Provisional Government. Reliance was placed in the Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Irish Volunteers and the citizen army. But the Sinn Fein is given credit for the uprising.

There is something antiquatedly dramatic about the story of those seven days. The chief public buildings were seized. The post office was made army headquarters. Paving blocks and overturned vehicles were quickly built into barricades.

But the soldiers soon concentrated. A few machine guns did the necessary work. The eager patriots escaped with difficulty from the back doors of buildings which were falling about their ears. A few hundred soldiers and patriots were killed. Many more were wounded. Then the commander-in-chief, our own James Connolly, ordered his followers to submit.

Boatloads of Irish were sent to England. Seven of the leaders were shot. Others were sentenced to long terms at penal servitude. The whole thing was over in a week and Ireland seemed worse off than ever.

Now, to be sure, the government talks of giving the tragic island home-rule. And there is indignation everywhere over the sudden execution of seven brave men.

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Nearly all the ancient histories in the libraries are the histories of kings and their wars. The ancient historians despised the people who did useful work; their praise and their attention were reserved for the soldiers. The real story of the working people of Egypt and India, of Greece and of the Roman Empire was lost or buried out of sight.

It was the life work of C. Osborne Ward to dig up and reconstruct the true story of the working people of the ancient world. Not content with studying thousands of ancient volumes and manuscripts, he journeyed hundreds of miles on foot around the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, deciphering and translating inscriptions telling parts of the forgotten story of the ancient workers. The results of his research are summed up in two large volumes over 1400 pages.

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Revolt of 200,000 slaves in Sicily.
Revolt of Roman slaves led by Spartacus and successful for years.
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History of Labor Unions at Rome preserved in ancient inscriptions.
ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE RED FLAG.

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Brotherhoods of workers in India.
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Christianity first propagated almost entirely within the unions.
Massacre of Christian wage-workers by the Emperor Diocletian and capture of the church organization by the Roman state under Constantine.

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After all, England may have been scared into doing something for Ireland.

In this country we have felt that this rebellion must, on the inside, have seemed something more than a romantic adventure. For James Connolly was in it. James Connolly has one of the best minds the working class has produced. He is not the man to fool away the lives of his fellows. From this side, judged by the glimpses given by the correspondents, the whole thing looked a foolhardy adventure. But to the men and women who did the planning and laid down their lives, it must have offered some prospect of winning the long-sought freedom.

One cannot but recall, however, how much more terrible the great Dublin strike looked to the world of English capitalism. Cessation of work was a more powerful weapon than the rifle, the union was more effective than the army, and solidarity with English workers furnished a better defense than street barricades.

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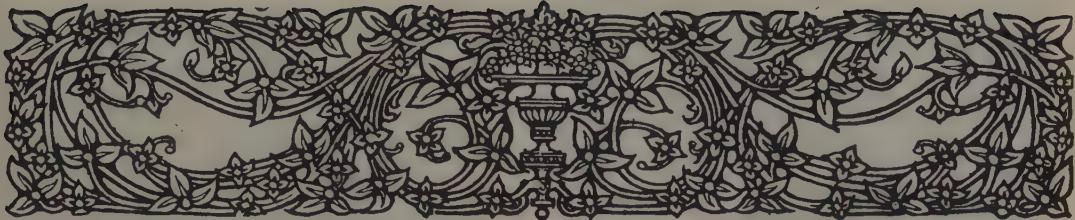
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NEWS AND VIEWS



MARGARET SANGER.

Margaret Sanger's Western Trip—Hundreds of working men and women welcomed Margaret Sanger during her brief stay in Chicago. The first meeting was held in the West Side Auditorium, which was packed to overflowing. The second meeting was held in one of the largest theaters in the loop district and standing room was at a premium.

The aristocratic Woman's Club refused to hear her message and one Chicago newspaper accused her of preaching nation wide practice of abortion. In reply she challenged them to

disprove the fact that "there are over 250,000 abortions each year in this country and 50,000 girls and women dying directly from results of abortion," also that "Nation-wide abortion is not a condition to come. It is already here."

"If newspapers should make it a practice to print all the facts of the community relating to birth control—all the terrible facts in every case that comes to light—it would be easy to establish clinics in every community for giving scientific knowledge to girls and women who wish to stop the coming of unwelcome babies. Every city has its stories of the babies not wanted, but the truth about these babies is terrible reading.

"I am reliably informed that there is a record in the coroner's office in Cook county of a case which illustrates my point. The inquest was over the body of a woman who had four children. In her attempt to get rid of the fifth child, an unborn child, she killed herself.

"Her husband was the chief witness at the inquest. He stated that he was employed by Sears, Roebuck & Co. as a shipping clerk. His wages were \$13.50 a week. On these wages it was hard for the family to pay the food, rent and fuel bills of the house, and the woman told her husband she simply must not have another baby because it would be taking food from the mouths of others. By what law of God or man does anybody say a woman under these conditions shall not have access to knowledge of how to stop more babies from coming to her underfed family?

"More than 10,000 young unmarried mothers come to Chicago each year and leave in the hospitals and foundling homes of Chicago babies not wanted, babies not wished for. I am told that this figure of 10,000 is a conservative estimate and that officials of the Curran commission on state charitable institutions stated at the opening of their inquiry that there are probably more than 15,000 unmarried mothers who come to Chicago each year.

"The actual figures of this point would be of help to the birth control movement. They would convince doubters of the extent to which birth control is now already in practice to the profit of quack doctors and shady maternity homes and with pain and anguish to young women and girls, victims of ignorance."

During one week in Chicago Comrade Sanger received letters from 4,300 persons.

She left Chicago for Indianapolis to address The National Conference of Charities and Cor-

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rections, which is now in conference. From there she will go to St. Louis, St. Paul and Minneapolis and thence to the Coast.

We feel sure all western comrades will give her a royal welcome for the splendid propaganda she is carrying on.

Letters addressed to Comrade Sanger, care THE REVIEW, will be promptly forwarded.

Chicago Strikes—15,000 workers at the International Harvester Works are out on strike. They went out unorganized. THE REVIEW will have a complete story of the strike in the July number.

One thousand express drivers have tied up all express business. At this writing it looks as if the clerks, sorters and checkers would join with the drivers. They are over-worked and under-paid and are at present unorganized, but the spirit of solidarity is running strong among the slaves.

Ten thousand garment workers are again out. Eight hundred cigar makers went on strike yesterday, the 17th, and 1,000 electrical workers will go on strike today for a 30 per cent increase in pay.

As we go to press word comes in that all freight handlers employed in railroad warehouses are going to join with the express drivers. More power to them! The only way to get shorter hours and more money in the pay envelope is to go after it. The only place to stab a big, fat, juicy corporation is in the pocketbook.

Angered Rail Employe "Jimmies" Up 24 Trains—Nine passenger trains, carrying more than 1,000 passengers, and fifteen freight trains of about forty-five cars each were held up at the New York Central interlocking point at the Calumet river last night for three hours, when a nonunion maintainer "jimmied" the trestle.

During the difficulty between the railways and the telegraph operators and other branches of workmen, nonunion maintainers have been in charge of the switch control stations. The station maintained at the Calumet bridge is said to be the largest in the world, and is so delicately adjusted that the touch of a button handles the complex switching arrangement.

At 7:30 last night the nonunion maintainer was informed that it would be his last night, because the union employe would resume his place today. In a few minutes the process known among railroad men as "jimmying" had been accomplished, and the huge, delicately adjusted mechanism was out of business (Chicago Tribune). Here is a question we want to ask: If one railroad worker had as much power as this nonunion man, what couldn't all the railroad men do if they decided to fight? They might be able to make two good jobs out of one bad one. Do you get it?

Don't Like the I. W. W.—Here is a clipping from a Chicago daily newspaper that will give our craft union friends something to think over. The question is: Why does the boss prefer the A. F. of L. to the I. W. W.? We think we remember hearing Bill Haywood say: "When the bosses praise us we will know we have ceased to be of value to the working class." How about it, Old Timer?

"A strike started yesterday by employees in the Messinger restaurants was settled today when Samuel Messinger signed an agreement with the Chicago Federation of Labor, whereby he is to pay the union scale of wages and conform to union hours. The strike was called by the Industrial Workers of the World, and Mr. Messinger refused to have any negotiations with that organization, it is said. Instead, he called his cooks and other employees into a conference and arranged to treat directly with the Chicago Federation of Labor. The announcement of the settlement of the strike was made by Ben F. Parker, president of the Chicago Waiters' Association."

A Washington Red sends in three big iron dollars for sub. cards and says: "I always pass the REVIEW along after reading it from cover to cover, as it opens the brain cells."—R. C. Holbrook.

Straight From the Shoulder—The following letter received from a West Virginia Rebel has a punch which we feel sure will be appreciated by REVIEW readers, who, by the way, are the best bunch of rebels on earth. "Please find enclosed \$1.00 for which which send me twenty copies of the May REVIEW, if possible by return mail. It is hell around here and seems to be getting worse all the time and I want to do my little part to help along. I got fired trying to organize an Industrial Union, but by God I am going to fight back some way or other, to let them know I am not crushed yet. I organized a Socialist Local the other night and have another on the way. Also am receiving names for industrial organization. Please send REVIEWS by return mail if possible so I can sell them and order more. Believe me, I am going to do my damndest to smash this rotten system of capitalism which is crushing every worker and his family in the world and I do not give a damn who knows it. I have not got the vocabulary to tell you my regard for the REVIEW. I get it every month."—Yours for the Revolution, H. A. L.

From a Wood Carver—I sold ten REVIEWS in the shop last Saturday. The only trouble was I should have had more. Send on another bundle of twenty as I am going to sell the REVIEW in the union hall Thursday night.

I have a brother in the war in France. He belongs to the Canadian contingent and I want him to get his REVIEW. If you think you can get it through to him I will gladly defray all expenses."—Yours for the Revolution, J.

Henry Dubb and the Review, Twin Falls, Idaho—Comrades: "Enclosed find confidence paper to the extent of one dollar; please send twenty copies of the last issue of the REVIEW. I do not see how anyone who claims to be a Socialist can be without the REVIEW; to me it is the most welcome guest that visits our home. If the REVIEW and the masses cannot open the eyes of Henry, you can put him down as impossible, and as Comrade Debs said: 'Gabriel's bugle would not be sufficient to stir him on the day of resurrection.' With the best of wishes for a big increase in the circulation of the REVIEW, I remain, for the cause, F. Olson."

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Mexican Editors Jailed—Charged with having used the mails "to incite murder, arson and treason," Ricardo Flores Magon and his brother, Enrique Flores Magon, editors of "El Regeneracion," a paper published in Los Angeles in the interests of free land and free men in Mexico, recently have been arrested and jailed. This is the third time the Magons have faced the penitentiary, for twice they have been convicted of breaking the neutrality laws and have served terms in the state prison of Arizona and the federal penitentiary on McNeil's Island. In a revolutionary career of twenty years, ten of which have been spent in the United States, they have passed more than five years behind the bars. "Justice and not bullets, is what ought to be meted out to the revolutionists of Texas; and from now on we should demand that the persecutions of innocent Mexicans should cease. And as to the revolutionists, we should also demand that they be not executed. The ones who should be shot are the 'rangers' and the band of bandits who accompany them in their depredations. Enough of reforms! What we hungry people want is entire liberty based on economic independence. Down with the so-called rights of private property; and as long as this evil right continues to exist we shall remain under arms. Enough of mockery!" These utterances constitute the counts against the Magons; and these, with one or two others of a similar nature, are quoted in the grand jury indictment against them. And for this they face from two to five years in the penitentiary! In answer to this campaign of suppression a Workers' International Defense League of Los Angeles has been organized. The league has taken charge of the Magon case and has set itself to put up the heavy bail of \$10,000 demanded by the court for the temporary release of the prisoners, and to raise the greatly needed funds for their defense. Attorneys Ryckman and Kirk have been engaged as counsel, both of them veterans in fighting the battles of the workers—the latter, indeed, having served six months in jail for his activities in the San Diego free speech fight. The treasurer of the league is J. D. Kaufman, 621 American Bank Building, Los Angeles.

Emanuel Julius is ready to send you a copy of "*The Pest, and Other One-Act Plays*." These plays break the great American commandment: "Thou shalt not commit irony." Emanuel Julius' plays are readable, entertaining and thought-provoking. Send **ten cents** at once to

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Von Herman Corcoran

This is a German edition of a most important book which we had hoped to publish in English during the summer of 1915. After the book was in type, the author felt obliged to insist on suppressing the edition, for reasons of his own. He has now sent us several hundred copies of this edition in the German language, published in Amsterdam. Every German-speaking reader of the REVIEW should read and circulate it. Price 25 cents; to our stockholders, 20 cents, postpaid.

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KARL LIEBKNECHT in Germany and Bernard Shaw in England are easily the two biggest Big Brothers in Europe.

Each in his own country accuses his home government of its crimes.

And Liebknecht in Berlin raps the German imperial government much harder than the Milwaukee Leader.

This paper is telling the truth about the knock-kneed king of England and the bullet-headed czar of Russia.

But it keeps silent about that paralytic mastoid, the Kaiser of Germany.

How and why is the Milwaukee Leader gagged and muzzled from printing the truth about the Kaiser?

Czar Nicholas and King George are oppressors, but the Kaiser—ho hum!—we won't say anything about the Kaiser.

Before the European war, the Kaiser was regularly ragged as a vicious tyrant. Now he gets apologies and vindications.

Liebknecht in Berlin has more nerve challenging the Hohenzollerns than the Socialist mouthpieces of Milwaukee.

MILK wagon drivers of Chicago pulled off a little rebellion in May and shoved up their wages from \$19 a week to \$22. It roused the criticism from some quarters that milk wagon drivers now have a higher average income than lawyers. Query: Even if true, why shouldn't a milk driver get more money from human society for his service than a lawyer for his service? Or, if debating clubs or nail keg philosophers want to take up the question, let it be put this way: Who's the most useless? Milk wagon driver or lawyer?

HERE'S one the printer will have to set in bold-face slugs of some noisy font of type. It's from *The Conveyor*, dipped out of an article entitled, "A Definition of Efficiency," by J. Seton Gray:

"Use the word 'Why' often. When working at a job, ask yourself, 'Why is it necessary that this should be done?' Get into the habit of using 'Why' at your work throughout the day. It is only by asking and answering yourself that you will learn that efficiency means the use of the head. Get your brainbox working, and let your head do some of the work instead of your body."

Hallelujah! Now everybody—altogether: USE YOUR HEADS!

A Wholesale Co-Operative Grocery Business to supply locals, co-operatives and individual members throughout the country has been started by Chicago comrades. We are numerous enough to support such an institution and with our right support it is bound to be a success and become a great benefit to us all. Without the capitalist drain of interest, dividends and profit it is free to be of full use to us all and to enlarge and expand. Manufacturing should follow as a natural result. Comrades desiring further information should address Socialist Exchange, 2659 Fullerton avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Washington Anti-Militarists—The special convention of the Socialist Party of the District of Columbia, called to consider the validity of compulsory military enrollment according to the constitution of the United States, Article 13th, met at headquarters with thirty-two delegates present, representing eight locals of the D. C., and two Virginia locals.

A motion was then put and carried, that those socialists of the district who were willing to make the test of the validity of compulsory military enrollment, by refusing to give their names and other necessary requirements to the enrolling officer, would be sustained in the courts, morally and financially, by the Socialist party of the District of Columbia.—Ellen Wetherell, Washington, D. C.

Comrade Richardson of Mart, Texas—This is to apprise you of the death of our good comrade, U. M. Richardson, who succumbed

after a lingering illness of several months' duration. He will be remembered by many comrades and others as having been active in the movement for a better day for several years and of managing to a successful issue one or more big encampments at Rockdale, Tex. He will be missed by his many friends and relatives, and the socialist movement loses one of its staunchest and most ardent and active adherents and workers in this section, through his regrettable demise. His work and efforts will live and thrive in the development of the seeds he has sown for the enlightenment and emancipation of humanity from ignorance, superstition and slavery.—Fraternally, C. L. Vincent.

Trimmers—too many trimmers talking revolution. And what's a trimmer? He isn't the sort of man Martin Luther meant when he wrote Erasmus:

"You desire to walk upon eggs without crushing them and among glasses without breaking them."

As the historians report it, Erasmus answered: "I will not be unfaithful to the cause of Christ, at least so far as the age will permit me." To which Luther replied: "I will go to Worms though dévils were combined against me as thick as the tiles upon the housetops."

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Until a few years ago, only one volume could be had in the English language, and that in an inferior edition. Then this publishing house took hold and published the entire work in three magnificent volumes, strongly bound in library cloth, with gold stamping.

VOLUME I, entitled "**The Process of Capitalist Production**," is practically complete in itself. It explains the thing which, up to the time that Marx came on the scene, had confused all the economists, namely, **Surplus Value**. It explains exactly how the capitalist extracts his profits. This volume might be called the keystone of the Socialist arch. 809 pages, \$2.00.

VOLUME II, "**The Process of Circulation of Capital**," explains the part that the merchant and the banker play in the present system, and the laws that govern social capital. Unravels knots in which previous writers had become entangled. 618 pages, \$2.00.

VOLUME III, in some respects the most interesting of all, treats of "**The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole**." Predicts the **rise of Trusts** and makes clear the **cause of panics and Industrial crises**. Shows how the small capitalist is swallowed. Explains for all time the subjects of **Land, Rent and Farming**. 1,048 pages, \$2.00.

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PUBLISHERS' DEPARTMENT

Books for the Campaign.—The Presidential campaign of 1916 is now on, and the next few months will be the most favorable time in four years to get American working people to read about Socialism. The veteran Socialist workers know from long experience that the results obtained from the mere holding of meetings amount to little. People listen to the speakers; then go away and forget all they heard. The work that counts at a Socialist meeting is to induce the listener to buy a book in which the essential principles of Socialism are clearly explained. If the speaker can connect his talk with a good book and induce his hearers to read it, there will be a good chance of their coming into a real understanding of the principles of Socialism, so that they may be counted on our side in the class struggle from that time on.

Propaganda That Pays for Itself.—It costs money to hire speakers, rent halls and print leaflets, and always it is not those who can best afford it but the most enthusiastic workers who "dig up" for these campaign expenses. But the sale of books at meetings pays for itself, and even helps pay the other expenses, so that it relieves "Jimmy Higgins" instead of taxing him.

Good Books Scarce This Year.—The National Office of the Socialist Party has been crippled in its work by the debt recklessly piled up in the campaign of 1912; it has virtually abolished its book department, and has few books suitable to sell at meetings. Our publishing house has a limited supply of some of the best books, but our plans for this year's campaign have been upset by a sudden rise in the price of book paper to almost double the former figure. This fact, together with the probability of new issues coming to the front in the near future with the quick development of American Imperialism, makes it seem unwise for us to enlarge our stock of books at this time. We have, however, just finished printing new and attractive editions of two of the best possible books for sale at Socialist meetings.

The Communist Manifesto, by Marx and Engels, first published in 1848, will

never be out of date while there are wage-workers and capitalists. It is at once a scientific analysis of capitalist society and a bugle call: "Workers of the World, Unite." You can read it a hundred times and find food for thought each time. Induce a wage-worker to begin studying it and he will take his stand with his class if he has brains to understand. The only trouble with the "Manifesto" is that it requires close study to get at the meaning. The average man needs something simpler first. We have it.

Shop Talks on Economics, by Mary E. Marcy, one of the editors of the **Review**, is THE book for a beginner. It talks to him about every-day material things, about his job, his pay envelope, the things he makes and the things he buys with his wages. It shows him why it is that the capitalist gets so much more for doing nothing than he gets for hard work. It shows him that the only way to get more is to UNITE and ORGANIZE with other workers. In short words and short sentences it helps him understand what SURPLUS VALUE is, and how he makes it and the other fellow gets it.

Ten-Cent Books.—The two books just named sell for ten cents each. Other books at the same price that are good to sell at open-air meetings are:

- Class Struggles in America, Simons.
- Crime and Criminals, Darrow.
- Industrial Socialism, Haywood and Bohn.
- Marxism and Darwinism, Pannekoek.
- The New Socialism, LaMonte.
- No Compromise, Liebknecht.
- Our Mental Enslavement, Caldwell.
- The Question Box, Eastwood.
- Revolution, Jack London.
- The Right to Be Lazy, Lafargue.
- The Rights of the Masses, Brewer.
- Study Course in Scientific Socialism.
- The Social Evil, Dr. J. H. Greer.
- Socialism Made Easy, Connolly.
- The Socialist Movement, Vail.
- Socialist Songs With Music.
- The Socialist Movement, Spargo.
- The Strength of the Strong, London.
- Value, Price and Profit, Marx.
- Why Catholic Workers Should Be Socialists, Mary E. Marcy.
- The Wolves, a Fable, Wason.

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BOOK REVIEWS



Plain English: By Marian Wharton. Published by the People's College, Fort Scott, Kan.

The plainest of "Plain English" is taught in the new text-book of this title, issued by the People's College. It is a splendid volume of more than 300 pages and is the work of Marian Wharton, who has charge of that department and who has no superior, if she has an equal, in that line.

The book is a marvel of clearness and simplicity. Each lesson treats of a special subject and is complete. Anyone who can read can understand it.

"Plain English," in a word, is a revolutionary text-book, and not a mere treatise on how to use words to conceal thoughts. It is the first volume in the series to be issued by the People's College, and to constitute the proletarian literature, self-inspired and self-produced, true to truth and free from all ruling-class taint, that is to dispel the darkness of ignorance and superstition among the workers, as the mist vanishes before the sunrise, open their eyes and attune their hearts to their common kinship, develop their capacity to think and act for themselves, inspire them with high ideals and resolute purposes, and fit them by education and organization for the mental, moral and spiritual mastery of the world.—Eugene V. Debs.

The Air Trust: A novel by George Allan England, author of "Darkness and Dawn," "Beyond the Great Oblivion," "The Afterglow," etc., etc. Published by Phil Wagner, of the National Rip Saw, St. Louis, Mo.

Here is a novel that carries the monopolistic principle to its logical conclusion. Comrade England says: "Granting the premise that some process might be discovered whereby the air supply of the world could be controlled, the Air Trust logically follows." In this amazingly original and interesting story, the capitalist class secure complete monopoly of the air; all political rights are denied; the working class, in order to escape absolute slavery, are forced into a violent physical revolution, from which it emerges triumphant. Many points of this novel are based upon things comparatively new in the world of science and invention, and hence particularly interesting to Socialists. A book well worth while.

The Life and Exploits of Jehovah: A clever satire, by Henry M. Tichenor. Published by Phil Wagner, St. Louis, Mo.

Here is a book over which the progressive, the radical, the free thinker and the Socialist will enjoy many a hearty laugh. It bubbles over with the finest kind of humor and may be able to kill off many a superstition through a smile that would not yield to a year of heated argument.

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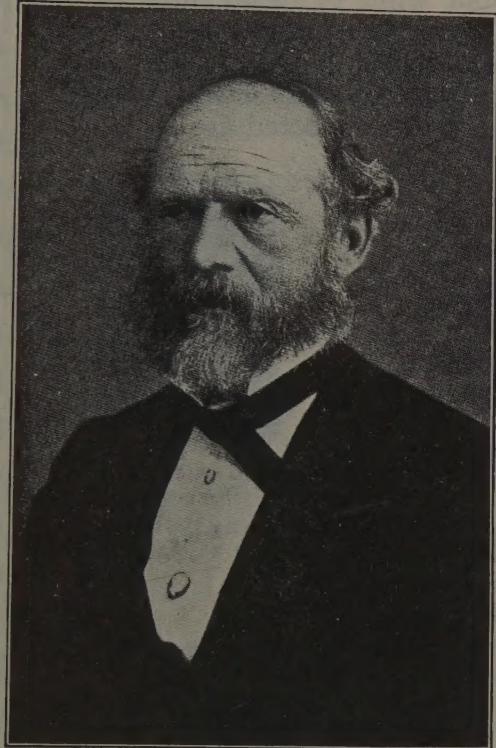
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